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A Theological Ethics of Migration

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Abstract

In this thesis I develop a theological ethics of migration that is attentive to the contemporary global crisis of human migration. Using the fourfold sense of scripture, with particular attention to allegory, as reclaimed from patristic and medieval exegesis by Henri de Lubac, I investigate four biblical narratives that I will show are paradigmatic of biblical approaches to the treatment of migrants. These narratives include Exodus, the Book of Ruth, and the parables of the Good Samaritan and the Prodigal Son. I present an in-depth exegesis of these narratives as vital theological and ethical sources for addressing the contemporary migration crisis. The core claim I advance in this thesis is that migration is theologically significant for Christians because loving aliens is commended throughout scripture and the theme of hospitality to migrants is central to the prophetic witness of the Church to the nations.

Refugees and migrants reveal the interconnected nature of the contemporary world, and I argue that the millions of people who are currently on the move from their home nations are not only an urgent humanitarian challenge to the global community, but an ethical and theological litmus test of contemporary global civilization. The existence of so many migrants and refugees in a global civilization divided into bordered nation-states, which is also daily joined by movements of people and goods in planes, ships and trucks, reveals inconsistencies in modern political conceptions of the nation-state and of the rights of citizens. I argue that longstanding theological traditions that speak of Christians as wanderers and aliens provide a valuable source for addressing and repairing these inconsistencies.

In Part I, I address the politicization of migration and modern contradictions that arise between migration law and globalization, such as territorial sovereignty and economic liberalism, and I identify vestiges of social contract theories arising before and during the Enlightenment as preventing migration from being addressed in ways that acknowledge basic and profound truths about the interconnected nature of the world. I argue that without addressing these underlying issues, migration will remain an ongoing political and humanitarian problem. In Part II, I engage in biblical exegesis to develop ethical claims for Christians and the Church, and address the underlying issues identified in Part I. I will argue that the exegesis of these biblical

narratives reveal that aid, care and rescue of migrants, even to the point of self-sacrifice, present contemporary Christians and others with the opportunity to rediscover the meaning of justice and citizenship on an interconnected planet.

Lay Summary of Thesis

In this thesis I develop a theological ethics of migration that is attentive to the contemporary global crisis of human migration. Using the fourfold sense of scripture, with particular attention to allegory, as reclaimed from patristic and medieval exegesis by Henri de Lubac, I investigate four biblical narratives that I will show are paradigmatic of biblical approaches to the treatment of migrants. These narratives include Exodus, the Book of Ruth, and the parables of the Good Samaritan and the Prodigal Son. I present an in-depth exegesis of these narratives as vital theological and ethical sources for addressing the contemporary migration crisis. The core claim I advance in this thesis is that migration is theologically significant for Christians because loving aliens is commended throughout scripture and the theme of hospitality to migrants is central to the prophetic witness of the Church to the nations.

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Signed Declaration

I, Aaron Philip Janklow, certify that this thesis has been composed by me, that the work is my own, and that the work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Aaron Philip Janklow

Date

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When I first studied in Edinburgh, I attended worship at St. Giles' Cathedral and it has been special to serve there as an assistant minister. When I first learned of this opportunity, I was minutes away from boarding a plane to build houses in Haiti. I have the distinct memory of how honored I felt to have the opportunity to serve not only such a historic church, but a church that has personal significance to me owing to my experiences of worshipping there as a student so many years ago. While those

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Before moving to Edinburgh, I served as a minister at churches in Ann Arbor, MI and Delray Beach, FL. I remain thankful for the ongoing encouragement of these congregations and the many life-long friendships that I have developed. I often reflect upon meaningful experiences of working in soup kitchens and building homes in North America, Latin America, and Asia with these churches and the Presbyterian Church in Westfield, NJ, where I was a member before becoming an ordained minister. As evidenced in the opening pages of this thesis, these experiences have had a profound and lasting impact on my life, and I am forever grateful for these opportunities. I thank Rev. Tina McCormick for facilitating these experiences when I was in high school, college, and seminary, and it has been a joy and privilege to help facilitate such meaningful work for others. I thank Rev. Dr. Budge Gere and Dr. Ruth Ost for being mentors and people I can always count on for advice and wisdom.

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Introduction

1. Migration as an Issue for the Church

During the summer of 2012, I visited Ellis Island, where I found my family name listed on “The American Immigrant Wall of Honor.”¹ My great-grandparents immigrated to the United States from Bessarabia, located in the easternmost region of Romania, through Ellis Island around the turn of the 20th Century. Before making their way across Europe and the Atlantic Ocean, my great-grandfather, Haron Jankulovicci, was drafted into the Jewish Brigade, which fought as part of the Romanian army. Believing that Jewish lives were less valuable, the Romanian army sent the Jewish Brigade to fight on the front lines of battle, but thankfully my great-grandfather survived a war that Romania lost. Years later, Bessarabia was part of Russia and his hometown of Vaslui was visited by the Russian army to conscript men for the military. Having already survived the front lines of one war, my great-grandfather immigrated to the United States and was later joined by his wife, Chaia, two children, and mother. As they entered the harbor at Ellis Island, they each passed the Statue of Liberty, and Emma Lazarus’s famous words inscribed on its base, “Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,” and a reference to the Statue of Liberty herself, as the “Mother of Exiles.”² Upon arrival at Ellis Island, their surname was changed from Jankulovicci to Jankulowitz, and my great-grandmother’s name became Clara. My great-grandparents settled in the lower east side of Manhattan, and then Bensonhurst, Brooklyn where my grandfather was born, and before graduating high school, legally changed his surname to Janklow, as it stands today.

While migration is part of my family history, this research is more inspired by my personal faith experiences. The most pivotal week of my life was a mission trip as a high school student to Los Alcarizos, a small village on the outskirts of Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. In the poverty of this village, I worked

¹ The American Immigrant Wall of Honor on Ellis Island is national monument where individuals can have names inscribed in commemoration of those who immigrated to the United States of America.

² Emma Lazarus, “The New Colossus (1885),” in *Jewish American Poetry; Poems, Commentary, and Reflections*, ed. Jonathan N. Barron, Eric Murphy Selinger (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2000), 2.

alongside local residents and other youth and adults from the Presbyterian Church in Westfield, New Jersey on the reconstruction of a local school and community hub destroyed by a recent hurricane. As a seventeen year old working alongside these Dominicans and observing the day to day life of this village, a realization I had on this trip was that while it is true that another person born into my position would likely have a life dramatically different than mine, it seemed that outside of recklessness or extreme misfortune, the fundamental necessities that some of the children of this village did without, would not be at stake for anyone born into my position. I did nothing to be born to the parents and family I was, in a stable location with plentiful opportunities, basic securities, and the protection of rights, as well as a passport that enables me to travel the world. This realization not only heightened my thankfulness for that which I had no control over, but caused me to think hard about the conditions of poverty, natural disaster, and life prospects for those who did nothing to be born into these circumstances, and how, despite morally arbitrary differences such as the location of our birth, nationality, and citizenship, we were all created in the image of God.

Upon returning from the Dominican Republic, I became increasingly aware of issues of immigration in the United States, and over the years, wary of legislation that sought “attrition through enforcement” by making opportunities for integration more difficult by denying aid to those without documentation. One highly publicized and contested instance was the Border Protection, Antiterrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 (H.R. 4437). This bill, which passed in the United States House of Representatives but was rejected in the Senate, sought to criminalize the actions of anyone who “assists, encourages, directs, or induces a person to reside in or remain in the United States, or attempt to reside in or remain in the United States, knowing or in reckless disregard of the fact that such person is an alien who lacks lawful authority to reside in or remain in the United States.”³ In reaction to this proposed legislation, numerous protests erupted owing to fears that the bill would criminalize the work of churches, nonprofit organizations, and anyone acting as a

³ U.S. Congress Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, H.R. 4437 Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005, 109th Congress, 2nd Session, 2005. The bill includes the same provisions against transport in Sec. 202 (1) (D), 34.

Good Samaritan.⁴ On Ash Wednesday in 2006, Cardinal Roger Mahoney voiced these concerns by advising all of the parishes in the Los Angeles Archdiocese to disregard this legislation should it become law. He warned, "If you take this to its logical, ludicrous extreme, every single person to receive Holy Communion, you have to ask them to show papers...The church is here to serve people...We're not about to become immigration agents."⁵ Representative James Sensenbrenner, the primary drafter of the bill, responded to these concerns by saying that they were unfounded and false and that he had hoped "everyone would embrace a good-faith effort to combat alien smuggling gangs rather than engage in fear-mongering that clergy and good Samaritans will be thrown in jail."⁶ Despite trying to alleviate fears about the criminalization of actions taken by churches and non-profits, concerns persisted, and mass demonstrations and protests showed that Cardinal Mahoney's fears were not hyperbolic misinterpretations or exaggerations shared only among religious organizations and clergy, but among the general populace as well. While H.R. 4437 did not become law, it forced ministers and laity in churches to consider how their mission coincided with the laws of the nation-state. Whereas the Church's mission and outreach could previously be interpreted as charitable acts contributing to *the welfare of the city* (Jer. 29:7), this pending legislation placed their mission and outreach to humanity in sharp relief against the laws of the nation-state and the extension of hospitality and aid became a political act.

⁴ A New York Times Editorial described the actions that the bill would criminalize "theoretically include working in soup kitchen, driving a friend to a bus stop or caring for a neighbor's baby," in "The Gospel vs. H.R. 4437," *The New York Times*, March 3, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/03/opinion/03fri1.html> (accessed on Mar. 7, 2016). Alfonso Gonzales describes the mass protests that erupted as a result of this bill in Alfonso Gonzales, *Reform Without Justice: Latino Migrant Politics and the Homeland Security State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 143. Matthew Sorens, Jenny Hwang Yang, *Welcoming the Stranger; Justice, Compassion and Truth in the Immigration Debate* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2009). Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), xxv. Josue David Cisneros, *Rhetorics of Borders, Citizenship, and Latina/o Identity* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2013), 87.

⁵ Teresa Watanabe, "Immigrants Gain the Pulpit," *Los Angeles Times*, March 1, 2006, <http://articles.latimes.com/2006/mar/01/local/me-mahony1> (accessed on March 2, 2016).

⁶ "Senate Panel Passes Immigration Reform Bill," *Fox News*, March 28, 2006, <http://www.foxnews.com/story/2006/03/28/senate-panel-passes-immigration-reform-bill.html> (accessed on March 4, 2016).

Throughout my life, I have lived in or very near places with large immigrant populations, and I have seen many examples of local churches extending hospitality and care to migrants. Following my experiences in the Dominican Republic, I volunteered at the Agape Soup Kitchen in Elizabeth, NJ, and when serving meals or distributing clothing, I never wondered about the citizenship status of the person before me, not even when we had to converse in Spanish, and not once did it cross my mind to request documentation before providing aid. I considered it my duty to serve everyone because they all shared a common need. This belief was not only shaped by the common humanity we shared, but also by the purpose of this mission project, which was to help feed and clothe the poor. Additionally, my intuitions about faith and service arising from my personal reading of the Bible and its instructions for serving and showing hospitality to others informed such care.⁷ The potential criminalization of aid by H.R. 4437 challenged what I understood to be a vital part of the Church's mission, which was the indiscriminate extension of love to the neighbor and anyone in need. Outreach was no longer the simple extension of charitable love to others, but a potentially political act at the center of debate between the Church's love for humanity irrespective of borders and nationality, and the nation-state's concerns about territorial sovereignty.

My motivations for writing this thesis emerged from my experiences of living and working alongside immigrants amid controversy and debate in the United States, where approximately 11.4 million people are residing without documentation, and undocumented immigration is a continuous focus of political debate. Over the course of writing this thesis, however, the migration of refugees from Syria and Eritrea into Europe emerged as one of the most urgent humanitarian issues of our day, and its intensifying media coverage and public debate further heightened my awareness of the urgency of the themes and issues I engage in this thesis. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) reports that there are 59.5 million people currently displaced from their homes and that there are now as many or more

⁷ Instructions in the Hebrew Bible and New Testament on serving others include: Deut. 15:11; Prov. 19:17; Mt. 5:42; Mk. 9:35; Lk. 10:25-37; Jn. 13:12-14; Acts 20:35; Rom. 12:13; Gal. 5:13-14; Phil. 3:2-5; 1 Tim. 6:18; Titus 3:14; Heb. 13:2; 1 Pet. 4:10. Verses on extending hospitality to strangers: Mt. 25:35-45; Jn. 1:15; Rms. 13:8-10; Heb. 13:2. Extending hospitality to others regardless of nationality: Acts 10:34-48; Col. 3:11.

refugees than there were during the Second World War.⁸ What is currently being called the European Refugee Crisis involves not only the millions of refugees fleeing civil war in Syria, and leaving the Middle East, Africa, and Southeast Asia, but sociopolitical and economic concerns about how receiving nations and communities can integrate them into society. Despite the distinctive push and pull factors of those migrating in the American and European contexts, the U.S. and European nations are demonstrating similar reactions and concerns about those attempting to cross their sovereign national borders. In both instances, accompanying desperate images and reports of migrants stranded at sea, enduring treacherous journeys on foot across deserts or war zones, and even clinging to the wheels of commercial airliners, are the concerns of nation-states about the sustainability of national services for welfare, the erosion of national consciousness and identity, and threats to public safety.⁹ Though the plight of refugees, asylum seekers, and economic migrants, may wrench the

⁸ The UNHCR reports that of the 59.5 million people who were forcibly displaced in 2014, 19.5 million were refugees, 38.2 million were internally displaced, and 1.8 million were still considered asylum seekers in UNHCR, "World at War; UNHCR Global Trends; Forced Displacement in 2014," (2015), accessed on April 25, 2016, <http://www.unhcr.org/556725e69.html>.

⁹ Reports of refugees and migrants stranded at sea are numerous and include journeys across the Mediterranean Sea from Africa and Turkey, as well as Rohingya people stranded in the South Pacific Ocean between Myanmar, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia. The Rohingya people are rendered stateless as Myanmar denies them citizenship as well as freedom of movement. The images are shocking as hundreds occupy overcrowded boats in squalid conditions. Treacherous journeys on foot refer not only to the walk along migratory routes from Turkey further into Europe, often taken to when trains refuse to run, but also to Mexican and Central American migrants crossing the Sonoran Desert in the Southwestern United States which has claimed numerous lives. On 18 June 2015 two men held tightly to the wheels of a British Airways flight from Johannesburg to London. One fell as the plane neared London's Heathrow Airport and died, while the other was found in critical condition in the undercarriage of the plane. In 2012, José Matada attempted the journey from Angola to Britain and fell from the plane. Both tragic incidents are reported in Gwyn Topham, "One in Four Plane Stowaways Can Survive, but London Case is Astonishing," *The Guardian*, June 19, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/19/one-in-four-plane-stowaways-survive-london-astonishing> (accessed on April 26, 2016). Threats to public safety were particularly tangible in the wake of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, and also in the immediate aftermath of the terrorist attacks in Paris, France in November 2015, which was in the midst of millions of refugees entering Europe. See Gavin Hewitt, "Paris Attacks: Impact on Border and Refugee Policy," *BBC News*, 15 Nov. 2015, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-34826438> (accessed on April 17, 2016). For a general concern about an eroding national identity in the U.S. see Samuel P. Huntington, *Who are We?: America's Great Debate* (London: Free Press, 2004). Also, Samuel P. Huntington, "The Hispanic Challenge," *Foreign Policy* (March 2004).

hearts of people in the West, sociopolitical and economic fears make it appear as if “the prosperous West is under siege” and as “the popular refrain tells us; the hordes are ascending.”¹⁰

The political, socioeconomic, and legal responses of the U.S. and European nations to the millions of people arriving at their borders is as if they are *ex nihilo* creations, and decisions regarding their admittance is undertaken as a matter of charity. I argue that refugees and migrants reveal the interconnected nature of the world, and that the millions of people who are currently on the move from their home nations are not only an urgent humanitarian challenge to the global community, but an ethical and theological litmus test of contemporary global civilization. I suggest in this thesis that the existence of so many migrants and refugees in a global civilization divided into bordered nation-states, which is also daily joined by movements of people and goods in planes, ships and trucks, reveals inconsistencies in modern political conceptions of the nation-state and of the rights of citizens. Migration presents a critical matrix for the Church to determine its identity and mission not only in relation to migrants, but also in the public square of nation-states. In this thesis I develop a theological ethics of migration that is attentive to the contemporary global crisis of human migration by asking: what would a theology of migration look like that draws upon scripture and tradition and is attentive to the current migration crisis, and how might such a theology shape the Church’s ethical and practical responses to migration?

Using the fourfold sense of scripture, with particular attention to allegory, as reclaimed from patristic and medieval exegesis by Henri de Lubac, I investigate four biblical narratives that I will show are paradigmatic of biblical approaches to the treatment of migrants. Allegory empowers communities to interpret scripture in light of tradition and current circumstances and looks to scripture as a source that informs moral action in the world today. Rather than justifying the extension of aid or hospitality based strictly upon the plight of migrants, I develop a theological ethics that also arises from the character of those who extend such aid. Alongside allegory, I utilize sources from theology and ethics, as well as political theory to account for

¹⁰ Catherine Dauvergne, "Sovereignty, Migration and the Rule of Law in Global Times," *The Modern Law Review* Vol. 67, no. No. 4 (July 2004): 588.

relevant and pragmatic issues of migration that the Church must navigate in the contemporary world. The core claim I advance in this thesis is that migration is theologically significant for Christians because loving aliens is commended throughout scripture and the theme of hospitality to migrants is central to the prophetic witness of the Church to the nations. Arising from my engagement with scripture, I argue that churches should extend integration, aid and rescue to migrants, even to the point of self-sacrifice, as a matter of justice based upon the interconnected nature of the world. An overarching theme emerging throughout this thesis is that the inclusion of aliens and strangers into the Church helps Christians reclaim their identity as wanderers and aliens. This not only makes migration a particular concern for Christians, but enables churches to recognize their distinctive identity in God and serve as a prophetic witness in the world. In this way, this thesis contributes to the hospitable love and care of migrants by developing understandings of the identity and character of the Church to shape public engagement. Throughout this thesis, I refer to the identity and work of both the universal Church and the local church, and my use of capitalization is used to indicate this difference. The local church is a part of the universal Church, and I include it within my references to the Church. In particular instances, however, I want to emphasize the activity of the local church within a particular community, and in these instances, refer to the church or churches.

The four biblical narratives I engage in this thesis are the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt in the closing chapters of the book of Genesis through the Exodus, the book of Ruth, and the parables of the Good Samaritan and Prodigal Son. These narratives provide the foundations for a theological ethics of migration that addresses contradictions within the global system of nation-states that produces refugees and migrants, and shape how the Church can be a distinctive witness among the nations by extending aid and hospitality. Through theological and ethical engagement with these narratives, I address the failure of nation-states to acknowledge contradictions between economic liberalism and territorial sovereignty, and their resulting refusal to facilitate integration or extend aid and rescue to migrants as a demand of justice that requires self-sacrifice. By engaging allegorical interpretations of these four passages, I develop a theological ethics of migration that accounts for the relationship between

the interconnected nature of the world and migration. These narratives are each allegorically interpreted to be about spiritual distance from God, the inclusion of the Gentile Church among the Jews, and the extension of hospitality and welcome to strangers, or in the case of Exodus, the lack thereof. I present an in-depth exegesis of these narratives as sources for theological and ethical reflection that contribute to addressing the contemporary migration crisis.

While other instances of migration exist throughout scripture, I have limited my research to these four narratives because they effectively engage the issues of receiving migrants and as I will show, are paradigmatic of the treatment of migrants throughout scripture. The Babylonian exile, the dispersion of the disciples from Rome (Acts 8:1), and the flight of Aquila and Priscilla (Acts 18:2), for example, are other biblical cases of forced migration and refugees. I do not engage these as primary sources, however, because they are more about the experiences and challenges faced by migrants than their reception. The Israelites who were deported en masse to Babylon after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem were forced to migrate as captives and not as asylum seekers and migrants, which is an important distinction for the purposes of my research. As captives forced to migrate, the Israelites had an ardent hope for an imminent return that shaped their life and interactions with Babylon. Daniel Smith-Christopher convincingly identifies how the experience of the exiled Israelites grants insight into the contemporary experiences of refugees and asylum seekers in foreign lands. As my research is more focused on developing a theological ethics that shapes the reception of migrants, however, I turn to passages that shape the reception of those who migrate not as captives, but as refugees and migrants who face decisions of entrance or rejection at the border. The dispersion of the disciples *throughout the countryside of Judea and Samaria* after the stoning of the first martyr, Stephen (Acts 7:54-8:1), and Aquila and Priscilla's flight from Rome to Corinth (Acts 18:2), warrant refugee status according to today's standards. However, the brevity of these instances as depicted in the Acts of the Apostles makes them difficult to engage thoroughly and nothing is said of their reception in foreign lands. My goal is not to describe or examine every instance of migration in the Bible but to formulate ethical responses to inform and guide the work of the Church towards migrants. I limit my exegesis to the four narratives

already stated because as I will argue, each is paradigmatic of the treatment of aliens in scripture and engages critical moral questions related to contemporary migration.

In Part I, I address the politicization of migration and modern contradictions between migration law and globalization, such as territorial sovereignty and economic liberalism, and I identify vestiges of social contract theories arising before and during the Enlightenment that prevent migration from being addressed in ways that acknowledge basic and profound truths about the interconnected nature of the world. I argue that without addressing these underlying issues, migration will remain an ongoing political and humanitarian problem, and that scripture is the key source for a theological ethics that addresses migration and these underlying issues. I present the fourfold sense of scripture, with particular attention to allegory, as a hermeneutical strategy for reclaiming God and faith, and the transformative role of scripture in shaping moral action against the nation-state as simulacra for God and faith. In Chapter 1, I address contradictions between the territorial sovereignty of nation-states and economic liberalism, and identify “explanatory nationalism” as pervading modern reactions to migration. “Explanatory nationalism” interprets “the causes of severe poverty and of other human deprivations” as arising strictly due to causes and situations within the countries in which they are felt, rather than resulting from international actions.¹¹ I depict how modern conceptions of the nation-state and sovereignty are stretching the asymmetrical right of migration and examine the lasting impact that social contract theories have had on conceptions of community, sovereignty, and justice. I argue that these social contract theories help to depict the underlying issues of the ongoing migration crisis and provide theoretical insights into the reactions of receiving nation-states and communities to migrants. Further, each of the social contract theories I engage in this chapter, displace God and faith as sources of ultimate authority, and attempt to utilize them to strengthen the ruling sovereign or relegate them to the personal realm so that they cannot exert political impact. This examination of social contract theories arising before and during the Enlightenment highlights how current reactions to migrants continue to be shaped by explanatory nationalism. It also frames my argument for reclaiming God and scripture as sources

¹¹ Thomas W. Pogge, “Do Rawls’s Two Theories of Justice Fit Together?,” in *Rawls’s Law of Peoples: A Realistic Utopia?*, ed. Rex Martin and David A. Reidy (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 217.

that shape Christian responses to the ongoing migration crisis. In the second part of this chapter, I engage John Rawls's philosophical devices of the original position and veil of ignorance, as well as liberal-egalitarian, cosmopolitan, and communitarian responses in addressing global inequalities and justice. Ultimately, I argue that something more than a philosophical outlook is needed and that scripture and theology provide an important source for informing moral action towards migrants.

In Chapter 2, I argue that scripture provides a necessary repair to political conceptions of sovereignty that depend on territorial sovereignty. Whereas I argue that the social contract theorists examined in Chapter 1 use religious belief either to strengthen their account of sovereignty or to displace God altogether from the public realm, I argue that a scripturally situated theological ethics of migration has the potential still to shape moral action in the contemporary world. In this chapter, I provide an apologetic for using scripture in ethics, and describe the fourfold sense of scripture as articulated by Henri de Lubac and how allegory is used in this thesis to address urgent issues of migration. I also trace the demise of allegory and identify divisions between the public and private realms to argue that allegory remains a useful hermeneutical strategy that contributes to shaping moral action in the world today. I do not claim that allegory is the only method for interpreting scripture, but contend that it is a helpful methodology for interpreting scripture in relation to ongoing issues of migration revealed in both scripture and present in the contemporary world. By employing the fourfold sense of scripture, and particularly allegory, as a methodological strategy to read scripture in ways that shape action in the public realm, I develop a theological ethics of migration that asserts the normative ethical claims of extending aid, rescue, and integration to migrants, and also reclaims the place of God, scripture, and faith for shaping moral action.

In Chapter 3, I identify a lacuna between longstanding biblical and theological traditions of understanding Christians as cosmological aliens sojourning in the world and emerging theological reflections on migration that emphasize love and care for legal aliens in the world today. Whereas longstanding biblical and theological traditions emphasized the identity of Christians and the Church as cosmologically alien but did not address the related necessity to care for sociopolitical and legal aliens arising from this identity, emerging theological

reflections on migration emphasize the extension of love and justice to those who are sociopolitical and legal aliens but fail to identify Christians and the Church as alien. In this chapter, I address the terminology that surrounds migration within the Hebrew Bible and New Testament Epistles, and then examine the longstanding tradition of employing the language of exile and aliens in the *Epistle to Diognetus*, in Augustine's *City of God*, and more recently, in the work of Stanley Hauerwas and William Willimon. I then examine emerging theological engagements with contemporary migration that identify theological insights about God and faith in the experiences of migrants, and that emphasize the necessity of extending outreach and aid to migrants as a matter of justice. While these theological reflections provide insights into the journeys of migrants and inspire the hospitable and just treatment of those who migrate, they fail to identify the alien nature of the Church and contemporary Christians in receiving nation-states, and how this identity shapes their lending aid to migrants.

Part I of this thesis describes the conundrums of the current migration crisis and highlights underlying philosophical and theoretical causes that prevent enduring solutions. In Part II, I seek to bridge this gap by describing how the extension of love towards aliens reinforces the alien identity of the Church in the world, and empowers the Church's prophetic witness to the world. By addressing the terminology of migration within the Hebrew Bible and New Testament Epistles, and identifying lacunae between long-standing historical traditions and contemporary theological engagement with the terminology and themes of migration in scripture, I contend the fourfold sense of scripture employed in this thesis, presents a new contribution to addressing the theological ethics of migration. Through theological engagement with scripture, I utilize allegorical exegesis, alongside political and theological sources to develop a theological ethics of migration that informs loving care towards aliens by Christians. In each of these chapters, I undertake an exegetical case study that incorporates allegorical exegesis and traces interpretations of the biblical narrative from the early church fathers onwards. I discern how the biblical narrative is relevant to contemporary issues of migration, and then address normative moral claims that shape the ethical action of contemporary Christians to migrants.

In Chapter 4, I engage the migration of Jacob and his family to Egypt during famine to demonstrate how the interconnected nature of the world is a push factor of migration and the ways that regional economic powers create migratory pull factors. In this chapter, I identify vestiges of social contract theories arising before and during the Enlightenment in the responses of receiving nation-states to issues of migration today, such as explanatory nationalism. After identifying similarities between the economic and ecological impacts exerted by contemporary nation-states and the policies of empire employed by Egypt during famine, I argue that contemporary receiving nation-states cannot make decisions on whether or not to accept migrants as if migrants are *ex nihilo* creations. Instead, I argue that nation-states must recognize the falsity of explanatory nationalism and acknowledge their contributions to the push and pull factors of migration. The most general normative moral claim arising from engagement with the Exodus event is the command to care for aliens based on the experience of the Israelites being aliens in Egypt, which is expressed throughout the Hebrew Bible. By examining the Exodus event through the fourfold sense of scripture, with particular attention to the allegorical interpretations of patristic exegesis, as well as the sermons of Martin Luther King Jr. and liberation theology, I identify the necessity for contemporary Christians to break free from the nation-state and economic liberalism as simulacra for God and faith. I lift up the Hebrew midwives, Shiphrah and Puah, and Pharaoh's daughters, as models of not only refusing to be bound by the edicts of the nation-state but as providing exemplary aid and rescue to migrants. Their actions are significant for contemporary Christians who are forced to not only balance but prioritize religious beliefs and convictions, alongside their membership in nation-states. I then argue that Pharaoh's daughter is particularly significant for contemporary Christians because it is her membership within Pharaoh's home that enables her to provide aid, rescue, and ongoing care. While I abide by the understanding of Christians as wanderers and aliens asserted in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the *Epistle to Diognetus* and Augustine's *City of God*, I argue that it is their membership within a receiving community while on this earthly sojourn that allows them to provide care to sociopolitical and legal aliens.

In Chapter 5 I examine the book of Ruth as a model for integration against the perceived threats of migrants to national identity and consciousness in receiving nations, and describe how integrating migrants reshapes both migrants and the receiving community. The book of Ruth focuses on the migrations of one family and thereby provides an intimate engagement with migration that speaks to the challenges faced by millions in the contemporary world. A normative moral claim within this chapter is that the integration of migrants into receiving communities should entail the enactment of *hesed*, *lovingkindness*, to and by migrants. The allegorical interpretations examined in this chapter identify the inclusion of the Gentile Church among the Jews, and express hybridity within the early Church. Contemporary engagements with the book of Ruth articulate either a cosmopolitan vision for a unitary community superseding ethnic differences or a communitarian re-inscribing of the differences that cosmopolitan interpretations seemingly erase. Instead of choosing between these competing alternatives, I identify a dynamic process of integration that impacts both the newcomer and receiving community. In extending *hesed*, I argue that the Church promotes the integration of newcomers into the communities where they are located. Additionally, I contend that churches should embrace the possibility of membership and inclusion into their churches, but not require it in their extension of aid.

In Chapter 6, I turn to the New Testament parable of the Good Samaritan as an instance of extending urgent aid and rescue to a stranger, and address the question of to whom and to what extent should aid be extended amidst the challenges of an increasingly interconnected world. A normative moral claim that I develop within this chapter is that contemporary Christians should provide universal and indiscriminate aid and rescue regardless of national citizenship and other morally arbitrary differences. Patristic, medieval, and reformed exegesis provide allegorical interpretations of the parable that provide a universal definition of neighbors based upon the universal need of humanity for God's grace. These universal claims are tempered by practical advisements of other patristic and medieval theologians in ways that acknowledge the difficulty of humanity universally loving everyone. Taking into consideration practical limitations of extending universal love, such as finite time, energy, and resources, I follow claims that humanity should universally

extend love to all who are geographically proximate. The emphasis on geographical neighbors maintains the indiscriminate nature of aid extended to both migrants and citizens. Within this normative moral claim, I take into account that nation-states determine migration law, and subsequently, who is a geographic neighbor. I assert that this means that contemporary Christians must balance biblical commands to care for aliens, political membership in the communities where they reside, and the needs of their neighbors. Recalling the exemplary models of aid, rescue, and hospitality provided by the Hebrew midwives and Pharaoh's daughter, I argue that the care of aliens by contemporary Christians provides an important counter-cultural witness of God's kingdom in the midst of the nation-state.

In Chapter 7, I engage the parable of the Prodigal Son to depict distinct kinds of welcome, and assert the self-sacrifice entailed in extending love and hospitality to aliens and the redemption of communities that extend care to migrants. After cautioning against reading the younger son's circular migration as an instance of "attrition through enforcement," I examine the allegorical interpretations of patristic exegesis to demonstrate the dependence of the younger son on the *hesed* enacted by the father. The social contract theories I examined in Chapter 1 operate according to notions of mutual advantage and shared sacrifice, which render the arrival of migrants as threats to life within closed communities. In contrast to these understandings, the allegorical interpretations of the Prodigal Son parable that I examine in this chapter, as well as the normative moral claims I develop, assert the necessity of the Church offering care and welcome to migrants. I argue that the response of the elder son and his reactions to the ways his father extends a loving welcome to the younger reflect similar motivations to social contract theories, while the father's welcome and the self-sacrifice required in receiving the younger son back into the household is exemplary for the Church. The normative moral claims arising within this chapter are that the Church should extend care to migrants, even when this care requires some form of self-sacrifice on behalf of the community. Similar to the dynamic integration asserted in the book of Ruth, the inclusion of migrants into the life of church congregations will shape churches in different ways. In addition to the presence of migrants shaping the outreach and mission of churches, churches that welcome migrants may incorporate new liturgies, music styles, or

additional services, possibly in different languages, in order to accommodate changing demographics of their community. Such changes might be keenly felt by existing members, thereby representing something similar to the self-sacrifice of the father in receiving his younger son. Over and above these normative moral claims for contemporary Christians is the need to reclaim God and faith against false simulacra. Patristic exegesis interpreted the younger son's journey to a distant country as a spiritual distance from God and the return to his father's home, as his being graciously welcomed back into the community of God. Karl Barth and Reinhold Niebuhr interpreted the parable as expressing humanity's turn from and return to God, and I similarly argue for reclaiming a proper orientation that places God, and not humanity, at the center of Christian faith and moral action. Rather than settling for the sovereign or the nation-states as simulacra for God and faith, contemporary Christians must reclaim God as being the source for their actions and love. This reclaimed orientation in God informs the normative moral claims for extending aid, rescue, and hospitality to migrants developed throughout this thesis.

In the conclusion, I argue that the integration, aid and rescue of migrants, even to the point of self-sacrifice, presents contemporary Christians and others with the opportunity to serve as a prophetic witness in the world by addressing one of the most significant humanitarian issues of our day. The normative moral claims developed throughout this thesis seek to not only inform the hospitable care and integration of migrants into communities where Christians live and worship, but also shape how contemporary Christians participate in public debates surrounding issues of migration. Drawing upon scripture and allegorical interpretations from patristic exegesis onwards, I develop a theological ethics of migration based not only upon the important biblical commands for caring for aliens, but upon the interconnected nature of the world, and the inclusion of the Gentiles among the Jews in the early Church and the universal need for salvation to be provided by God. The theme of the inclusion of the Gentiles among the Jews in the early Church shows how the Church should not be afraid of outsiders or the self-sacrifice that may be required for their inclusion. The interconnected nature of the world that I identify in both the biblical and contemporary world stretches the moral responsibility to care for others beyond the borders of sovereign nation-states. Throughout this thesis, I argue that the Church

must reclaim the role of God and scripture against any possible simulacra for God and faith, and that by extending care to migrants, the Church enacts God's love to the vulnerable and is a prophetic witness in the world.

2. Terminology: Those Who Are Compelled to Migration

Aware of the timely public and political nature of this thesis's subject matter, in the remainder of this chapter I clarify the terminology utilized to describe migrants and explain why migration in its broadest sense is a theological and ethical concern. In this thesis, I address migration in its broadest sense to include asylum seekers and refugees, as well those who are often defined as "economic migrants," owing to the identification of the interconnected nature of the world as an underlying push factor in these migrations. Asylum seekers and refugees currently occupy the primary focus of political and public debate in Europe as to whether the responses of nation-states to migrants are morally just, but this debate is intertwined with a larger one regarding migration in general.¹² As millions of asylum seekers and refugees seek entry into Europe, concerns of national identity, public welfare, and fears about opportunistic economic migrants and terrorists pervade public and political concerns. The 1951 Convention on Refugees and 1967 Protocol, defines a refugee as anyone who,

owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.¹³

¹² Susanna Snyder uses the terms interchangeably, asserting that "in some ways, in the lived experience of migrants, these categories are ambiguous and overlapping and that much of what I say can be applied to underprivileged migrants or those regarded as 'undesirable' in general, not simply those seeking asylum," in Susanna Snyder, *Asylum-seeking, Migration and Church* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 11.

¹³ UNHCR, Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html>, (April 24, 2016). Prior to the 1967 Protocol, the 1951 Convention on Refugees began with a statement referring to "events occurring before 1 January 1951." This limited the definition of a refugee to those in Europe after the Second World War, and was rectified by taking out that reference in the 1967 Protocol.

Refugees are not only unable to rely on the governments of their nationality to provide basic protections, but may face persecution from those governments, thereby forcing them to flee tangible threats to their physical existence arising from targeted persecution based on the criteria specified above. Refugees are therefore, by definition, in need of a political structure that can only be provided by migrating to another polity.¹⁴ An asylum seeker is “an interim categorization” for those awaiting decisions on their claims for refugee status.¹⁵ While some asylum seekers are granted refugee status, and are thereby granted a range of rights in the host country that are “at least the same rights and basic help as any other foreigner who is a legal resident,” other asylum seekers are not granted refugee status and denied the right of asylum.¹⁶ In these instances, those who are denied asylum are legally required to leave the country where their application for asylum was made and are subject to deportation if they remain without appealing the decision or have their appeal denied.¹⁷

In contrast to the targeted persecutions faced by refugees, economic migrants are those who migrate to pursue economic opportunities abroad. The UNHCR defines a migrant who is not a refugee or asylum seeker as

a person who, for reasons other than those contained in the definition, voluntarily leaves his country in order to take up residence elsewhere. He may be moved by the desire for change or adventure, or by family or other reasons of a personal nature. If he is motivated exclusively by economic considerations, he is an economic migrant and not a refugee.¹⁸

¹⁴ Luke Bretherton, *Christianity and Contemporary Politics: The Conditions and Possibilities of Faithful Witness* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 129. Joshua Ralston, "Toward a Political Theology of Refugee Resettlement," *Theological Studies* 73, no. 2 (May 2012): 367.

¹⁵ UNHCR, UNHCR, Refugee Protection and International Migration, January 17, 2007, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/462f6d982.html>, (April 13, 2016).

¹⁶ UNHCR, "Protecting Refugees: Questions and Answers," <http://www.unhcr.org/3b779dfe2.html>, (accessed on April 13, 2016).

¹⁷ An appeal enables an asylum seeker to remain in the country until a decision is reached. For a helpful overview on the appeal process, see Camila Ruz, "What Happens to Failed Asylum Seekers?," *BBC News Magazine*, August 13, 2015, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-33849593> (accessed on April 23, 2016).

¹⁸ UNHCR, Handbook and Guidelines on Procedures and Criteria for Determining Refugee Status: Under the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, 2011, <http://www.unhcr.org/3d58e13b4.html>, (accessed on April 26, 2016).

While those to whom this definition applies vary as widely as Mark Carney, a Canadian who is Governor of the Bank of England, to undocumented migrant farmers residing in the U.S., the term is most often limited to the latter.¹⁹ International bankers working outside the country of their nationality and living in global cities such as Hong Kong, London, or New York City, for example, are described as expats, while tomato farmers in Florida are labeled economic migrants. An underlying suspicion defining economic migrants is that they threaten the social welfare systems in the places they reside, whereas expats do not. This unstated suspicion permeates the asylum seeking process as differences between refugees and economic migrants are “not perceived as the honest conflict between refugees and a narrow legal definition, but that which arises between genuine humanitarian refugees and fraudulent economic migrants.”²⁰ Evident in the responses of nation-states to the claims of asylum seekers is the conviction that economic migrants must be “weeded out” from those with genuine refugee claims.²¹ Gil Loescher goes so far as to assert that “in a period when it is difficult to maintain clear divisions between immigrants and refugees, the inclination of most governments is to label all unwanted migrants, no matter what their motivations, as economic refugees.”²²

Nation-states may be appropriately compelled to prioritize the needs of refugees against the needs of those economic migrants whose decision to migrate is not the difference between life and death, but economic migrants do not fit the limited definitions provided by the UNHCR and often have legitimate grounds to seek entrance into another country.²³ Distinctions between refugees and economic

¹⁹ As of 13 April 2016, the Bank of England listed on its website that Mark Carney is a Canadian citizen born in the Northwest Territories of Canada. He has worked for Goldman Sachs in London, Tokyo, New York, and Toronto, and he joined the Bank of England in 2013.

²⁰ Patricia Tuitt, *False Images: Law's Construction of the Refugee* (London: Pluto Press, 1996), 70, quoted by Michelle Foster, *International Refugee Law and Socio-Economic Rights; Refuge from Deprivation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 6.

²¹ Niklaus Steiner, *International Migration and Citizenship Today* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 85.

²² Gil Loescher, *Beyond Charity: International Cooperation and the Global Refugee Crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 17.

²³ Ryan Pevnick, *Immigration and the Constraints of Justice; Between Open Borders and Absolute Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 91.

migrants are critical in migration law, but they are difficult to maintain.²⁴ Immediately after providing a definition for economic migrants, the UNHCR, admits, “The distinction between an economic migrant and a refugee is, however, sometimes blurred in the same way as the distinction between economic and political measures in an applicant’s country of origin is not always clear.”²⁵ Though the UNHCR does not explicitly utilize the term “economic refugees,” the implications of such terminology are developed while still preserving the targeted threats aimed at specific peoples.²⁶ The UNHCR states, “Where economic measures destroy the economic existence of a particular section of the population (e.g. withdrawal of trading rights from, or discriminatory or excessive taxation of, a specific ethnic or religious group), the victims may according to the circumstances become refugees on leaving the country.”²⁷ Political and economic factors are often “inextricably bound together” and the causes of migration difficult to pinpoint, thereby making the critical distinctions between refugees and economic migrants dangerously difficult to identity.²⁸ Gil Loescher frames how popular perception distinguishes between the two terms this way, “Roughly speaking, if you are pushed you are a refugee, and if you are pulled you are an ordinary migrant.”²⁹

²⁴ Demonstrating how crucial this distinction is, the United States labeled thousands fleeing Civil War in El Salvador during the 1980s as economic migrants and not refugees. This distinction rendered thousands within the U.S. as undocumented and the safety that they desperately needed was denied. This is explored in Chapter 4.

²⁵ UNHCR, "Handbook and Guidelines on Procedures and Criteria for Determining Refugee Status: Under the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees," Par. 63: 15. Elsewhere the UNHCR recognizes “that refugee and migratory movements now intersect in a number of different ways,” in UNHCR, "UNHCR, Refugee Protection and International Migration," (2007), Pt. 5: 1.

²⁶ Michelle Foster references “economic migrants/refugees and political refugees,” in Foster, *International Refugee Law and Socio-Economic Rights; Refuge from Deprivation*, 6. Gil Loescher asserts difficulties in differentiating between political refugees and economic migrants in Loescher, *Beyond Charity: International Cooperation and the Global Refugee Crisis*, 6, 16, 141. Gil Loescher, James Milner, "The Missing Link: The Need for Comprehensive Engagement in Regions of Refugee Origin," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 79, no. 3 (May 2003): 598.

²⁷ The UNHCR does not specifically use the word “economic refugee” but that implication can be identified, in UNHCR, "Handbook and Guidelines on Procedures and Criteria for Determining Refugee Status: Under the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees," Par. 63: 15.

²⁸ Anthony H. Richmond, *Global Apartheid; Refugees, Racism, and the New World Order* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994), 58.

²⁹ Loescher, *Beyond Charity: International Cooperation and the Global Refugee Crisis*, 16.

In addition to difficulties in distinguishing between refugees and economic migrants, economic migrants may make legitimate claims for admittance into receiving nations owing to the impact of the interconnected nature of the world. It is difficult to label this impact as “targeted,” which is crucial to definitions of refugees; nevertheless, this impact *is* experienced in the developing world. Michael Northcott, for example, references European trawlers depleting the resources of Senegalese fishermen who in turn are forced to migrate to the EU looking for work. Rather than acknowledging their loss of work as the result of the interconnected world, the EU identifies them as economic migrants and treats them as “pariahs.”³⁰ Analogously, climate change is a growing cause of migration, and though climate change is primarily caused by historic emission from the developed world, it is not acknowledged as a legitimate reason for being a migrant. The International Energy Annual in 2004 estimates that China, Europe, Japan, and the United States are responsible for 65 percent of world energy use, and that while the least developed countries only utilize 5 percent of energy, they will bear 80 percent of the impact of climate change.³¹

Excluding the interconnected nature of the world from consideration in determining refugees or migrants lessens the moral compulsion of receiving nations in the developed world to admit them into their borders. Economic migrants may be rich or poor, but the impoverished, who are more often subjected to fear and suspicion by receiving communities, are frequently the victims of poverty resulting from unequal relationships arising between developed and developing nations.³² I argue in what follows that the distinction between a refugee and migrant correlates closely to the difference between charity and justice, since charity defines freely administered actions, whereas justice demands considerations of what is owed. Utilizing Susan George’s image of a boomerang, migration reveals the

³⁰ Michael S. Northcott, *A Political Theology of Climate Change* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2013), 174.

³¹ Luca Marchiori, Ingmar Schumacher, “When Nature Rebels: International Migration, Climate Change, and Inequality,” *Journal of Population Economics* Vol. 24, no. 2 (April 2011): 572.

³² Michael Northcott references ineffectiveness and negative impact of policies imposed by the World Bank upon recipients of its funds in the developing world and the ongoing payment that perpetuates poverty in Michael S. Northcott, *Life After Debt: Christianity and Global Justice* (London: SPCK, 1999), 13-15.

interconnected nature of the world and the impact that developed nation-states exert upon the developing world.³³ Migrants are not *ex nihilo*: they come from a context which has often been influenced by North-South relationships of one kind or another. When they arrive at the borders of sovereign nation-states, their claims should be judged not as instances in which charity is to be administered, but as pressing humanitarian concerns that reveal the interconnected nature of the world. As a result, they are owed considerations for admittance as a matter of justice, and not charity.

While I argue that migration in its broadest sense, including refugees, asylum seekers, and economic migrants, is a theological, political, and humanitarian concern arising from the interconnected nature of the world, I nevertheless seek to preserve refugees as a distinct category. Fleeing targeted persecution and being unable to avail oneself of the protection provided by a government creates perilous circumstances that are distinct from those fleeing abject economic poverty. Rather than using the word “refugee” as an all-encompassing term for migration, I use the term “migrant” to preserve differences between those fleeing life-threatening political persecution and abject economic poverty, while claiming that they both exert similar demands for love and justice to be extended from Christians and the church arising from the interconnected nature of the world. The term “migrants” is used in the broadest sense owing to the interconnected nature of the world that renders the plights of those fleeing economic poverty as also necessitating the integration, aid and rescue extended to refugees and asylum seekers. Rather than amalgamating these three types of migrations into the single category of refugees, I use the word “migrant” in this thesis to refer to refugees, asylum seekers, and economic migrants, while preserving a subset of distinctions between them. While nation-states with finite resources may morally prioritize the needs of refugees fleeing death and persecution against the needs of economic migrants, I argue that economic migrants exert moral demands on nation-states for inclusion, and that Christians and the church are to extend love and hospitality to both.

³³ Susan George, *The Debt Boomerang; How Third World Debt Harms Us All* (Boulder, CO: Pluto Press, 1992).

Part I: Foundations for a Theological Ethics of Migration

Chapter 1: The Politicization of the Ongoing Migration Crisis

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I assert the necessity for developing a theological ethics of migration that addresses the interconnected nature of the world, hybridity of cultures, and extension of aid and rescue across borders by engaging social contract theories and the responses of contemporary political theory. By identifying how nation-states use migration to exert sovereignty amid the universalizing forces of globalization and climate change, I argue that migration challenges territorial sovereignty by revealing the falsity of efforts to territorially restrict responsibility for migration to within nation-state borders, and known as “explanatory nationalism” after the work of Thomas Pogge.¹ Explanatory nationalism is the belief that the causes of poverty arise due to causes circumscribed within a nation-state without foreign influence and allows receiving nation-states to disregard the interconnected nature of the world in making decisions about those migrants who arrive at their borders. Saskia Sassen provocatively describes the modern migration crisis as a situation in which “immigrants appear as threatening outsiders, knocking at the gates, or crashing the gates, or sneaking through the gates into societies richer than those from which the immigrants came,” while “immigration-receiving countries behave as though they were not parties to the process of immigration.”² Through my engagement with social contract theories arising before and during the Enlightenment, I identify how they continue to shape current reactions to migrants as *ex nihilo* creations arising at the border of receiving nations and how they provide theoretical insights into the underlying issues of the migration crisis that I will address throughout this thesis. In addition to developing a theological ethics of migration that seeks to shape the hospitable treatment of migrants, I present migration as a matrix to engage

¹ Thomas W. Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002), 17. Thomas W. Pogge, “Do Rawls’s Two Theories of Justice Fit Together?,” 217.

² Saskia Sassen, *Guests and Aliens* (New York, NY: New Press, 1999), 1.

differences between nation-states, the international system of nation-states, and the ways churches exercise a global and unrestricted concern for humanity while living within nation-states.

Social contract theories highlight the different motivations of the nation-state, and reveal how the sovereign, and the tools the sovereign employs to exert authority, are simulacra for God and faith. In identifying and tracing the roots of explanatory nationalism in social contract theories, I identify critical issues in the contemporary migration crisis, such as the lack of an international sovereign, the refusal of nation-states to cede sovereignty on issues of migration, and the minimized importance of those outside the borders of a nation-state. After engaging social contract theories, I examine how these issues are present in the liberal political theory of John Rawls and engage cosmopolitan, liberal-egalitarian, and communitarian responses to Rawls, to incorporate issues of borders, communities, and political conceptions of how to balance the concerns of citizens and strangers. Liberal-egalitarianism, cosmopolitanism, and communitarianism each value borders and the right of individuals to cross borders differently. Cosmopolitans and liberal-egalitarians refute the explanatory nationalism they identify within Rawlsian theory, and argue that the borders of nation-states should be subordinated to needs of individuals. While communitarians also recognize the dangers of explanatory nationalism, they argue that nation-states and borders are helpful in protecting the rights of individuals. I argue that none of these theories alone are sufficient, and in place of liberal political theories, I propose a theological ethics of migration that draws upon scripture to respond to the needs of migrants and argue against explanatory nationalism as it relates to the reception of migrants at and within the borders of sovereign nation-states. Throughout this chapter, I identify underlying issues that must be addressed by a theological ethics of migration that takes seriously the challenges facing individuals, communities, nation-states, and the international community, and identify explanatory nationalism as a significant issue underlying the migration crisis that that will be addressed in the exegetical case studies I undertake in Part II.

2. From Migration to Immigration and the New “State of Exception”

The migration of refugees is one of the most urgent humanitarian issues in the world today. But the migration of people in general is a fundamental feature of human existence in the world throughout history and arguably it is national borders – a recent innovation – that make migration seem exceptional. Migration, in its most basic and broadest sense, is simply the movement of people and it “is as old as humanity itself.”³ From the first movement of humanity out of Africa, migration has always marked human existence and this is expressed in the Genesis accounts of the nomadic journeys of the Hebrew patriarchs.⁴ While a fundamental trait of humanity, migration has emerged as one of the most urgent and divisive issues of modern society.⁵ The creation of nation-states that exercise sovereignty through the protection of borders has transformed migration from the simple movement of people around the world to immigration, a politicized movement across the borders of sovereign nation-states.⁶ Ironically, the strengthening of international borders during the modern era has been accompanied by an internationalization of trade and

³ Douglas S. Massey, *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*, International Studies in Demography (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1. Neli Esipova, Rajesh Srinivasan, Julie Ray, “Global Desires to Migrate,” in *Adjusting to a World in Motion: Trends in Global Migration and Migration Policy*, ed. Douglas J. Besharov, Mark H. Lopez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 21. Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History*, Second ed. (London: Routledge, 2013), 1.

⁴ Instances of migration in the Hebrew Bible and New Testament include: Adam and Eve (Gen. 3:23), Cain (Gen. 4:12), Noah and his family on the ark and after the flood (Gen. 8; 10:32), the world scattered after the destruction of the Tower of Babel (Gen. 11:1-9), Abram’s sojourns (Gen. 12:10; 15:13; 19:9; 20:1; 21:23, 24; 23:4; 35:27), Isaac’s sojourns (Gen. 26:3; 35:27), Jacob’s sojourns (Gen. 32:4; 41:57; 47:4), Moses escapes to Midian (Ex. 2:15), the Israelites Exodus and journey toward the Promised Land (Ex. 13:17 onwards), Elimelech and Naomi’s family to Moab (Ruth 1:1), Ruth with Naomi to Bethlehem (Ruth 1:22), the Babylonian Exile (Prophets), Jesus Christ into Egypt as an infant (Mt. 2:13), the dispersion of the disciples across Judea and Samaria (Acts 8:1), the Apostle Paul across the Mediterranean (Acts and the Epistles), Aquila and Priscilla fleeing Rome for Corinth (Acts 18:1), the apostles throughout the Mediterranean (Acts and the Epistles).

⁵ Paul Collier points out that “migration has been politicized before it has been analyzed,” in Paul Collier, *Exodus: How Migration Is Changing Our World* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), 12. Public support and protest surrounding the migration of Syrian refugees into Western Europe has revealed the controversy of migration, and Mexican immigration into the U.S. remains highly controversial, which can be acutely felt during U.S. Presidential Campaigns.

⁶ The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) is frequently accredited with establishing the modern day sovereign nation-state as attested to by Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 4th rev. ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 3.

commerce, and an onslaught of other globalizing forces. Globalization, climate change, and migration demonstrate the increasingly interconnected nature of the world, and the merging of international markets, hybridization of culture, and movement of people all reveal the ultimate realities of a shared planet. Amid the undeniable proliferation of globalizing forces, however, borders still matter, and as is demonstrated in contemporary issues of migration, perhaps now, more than ever. Migration law, which defines who is legally permitted entrance into a country, is being utilized to affirm the “essence” of nationhood by reasserting national identity, consciousness, and sovereignty amidst globalization and climate change, and has become “the new last bastion of sovereignty.”⁷ The politicization of migration has made the Church’s care for aliens an inherently political act as aliens are now defined by a political distinction made by the nation-state. As a result, the Church’s care for the alien in their midst is not only an act of faith, but an intentional or unintentional assertion of a political theology.

The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 was a treaty that ended the Thirty Years War and marked a turning point in how nations asserted sovereignty.⁸ The treaty made the secular sovereign within a nation-state the ultimate authority on all matters, and the affairs of nation-states within their territorial borders were affirmed as being autonomous from international influence.⁹ The sovereign ruler of a nation-state was at the center of the Westphalian conception of sovereignty instead of the Pope, and the exercise of Lutheranism and Calvinism alongside Catholicism was permitted within borders and “included the right to private worship and liberty of conscience, and the right of emigration for all religious minorities.”¹⁰ The Westphalian notion of *cuius region, eius religio*, whose realm, his religion, consolidated the sovereign’s authority and represented the triumph of the ruling sovereign over what they viewed

⁷ Dauvergne, "Sovereignty, Migration and the Rule of Law in Global Times," 588. Peter J. Spiro also states, “Nationality law is the last bastion in the citadel of sovereignty” in Peter J. Spiro, "A New International Law of Citizenship," *The American Journal of International Law* 105, no. 4 (2011): 746.

⁸ Spiro, "A New International Law of Citizenship," 694.

⁹ "Treaty of Westphalia," *The Avalon Project*, no. accessed on April 30, 2016, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/westphal.asp.

¹⁰ Knox Thames, "Old Is New: Europe and Freedom of Religion or Belief," in *The Changing Nature of Religious Rights Under International Law*, ed. Malcom D. Evans, Peter Petkoff, Julian Rivers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 150.

as unwieldy religious fractions causing chaos in society.¹¹ William Cavanaugh, however, derides the religious violence that Westphalian sovereignty allegedly solved as being a “myth.”¹² Moreover, Cavanaugh identifies Westphalian solutions to this “myth” as the “creation myth for modernity,” and contends that “the myth of the wars of religion is also a soteriology, a story of our salvation from mortal peril. In other words, the story of the wars of religion has a crucial legitimating function for the secular West.”¹³ Westphalian sovereignty presented the state as the guardian of peace, and in so doing, initiated a process that would seek to make the state and ruling sovereign a simulacrum for God and faith.

By making nation-states the uncontested arbiter of affairs within territorial borders, The Peace of Westphalia prioritized the singular ruling authority of a secular sovereign against not only religious affinities but also the varying local affiliations and identities that existed within a territory. In order to solidify power for a singular sovereign across the vast territory of the nation-state, the sovereign took possession of authorities and powers that were previously dispersed among local agencies, such as determining citizens, guests, and aliens, and as I will discuss in Chapter 6, the right to provide sanctuary.¹⁴ Migration became a critical concern for the sovereign because enabling migration throughout the expanse of a national territory reinforced national consciousness and identity by shifting local identities and allegiances to the nation. As Emma Haddad describes, “the horizontal feudal society of the medieval world was superseded by the modern vertical society of sovereign territorial states.”¹⁵ By incorporating villages, towns, cities, and principalities into the larger territorial bloc of the nation-state, nation-states enabled free movement between previously self-governed spheres to strengthen national consciousness among its members. Utilizing Benedict Anderson’s conception of the nation-state as an

¹¹ Peter Beyer, “Deprivileging Religion in a Post-Westphalian State: Shadow Establishment, Organization, Spirituality and Freedom in Canada,” in *Varieties of Religious Establishment*, ed. Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, Lori G. Beaman (London: Routledge, 2016), 78.

¹² William T. Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence: Secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 123.

¹³ Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence: Secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict*, 123.

¹⁴ John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport; Surveillance, Citizenship and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 6.

¹⁵ Emma Haddad, *The Refugee in International Society; Between Sovereigns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 49.

“imagined community,” John Torpey asserts that “imagined communities” were authenticated through the laws and documentation that enabled the movement of individuals within the nation-state.¹⁶ Internal migration strengthened sentiments of national belonging and consciousness by shifting the borders that determined identity from villages, towns, and parishes to the nation, and as Torpey recognizes, “Eventually, the principal boundaries that counted were those not of municipalities, but of nation-states.”¹⁷ Regulating migration became a critical tool for sovereignties to consolidate their strength among people within a national territory.

As nation-states extended permissible movement within borders, they simultaneously sought to limit movement across borders. Carl Schmitt defined the sovereign as “he who decides on the exception,” and the sovereign’s authority is exercised through the ability to make distinctions between friends and enemies.¹⁸ While Michael Northcott rightly warns that Schmitt’s support of the Third Reich in Nazi Germany makes him a controversial figure whose writings have rightly been read with caution, he also points out that the many translations of his work over the past two decades signify a “growing recognition of the perspicacity of Schmitt’s definition of the political as the friend-enemy distinction for understanding the political conundrum raised by the construction by the nations in the twentieth century of an increasingly borderless global economy.”¹⁹ Giorgio Agamben engages Schmitt’s idea of the sovereign in his description of the “state of exception,” and asserts that the sovereign increases their power during times of emergency.²⁰ During perceived and actual threats, such as war, terrorism, and even migration, nation-states cultivate and exert new powers to control and protect, which are not forfeited after a threat ceases.²¹ Northcott shifts the ways that sovereigns apply the state of exception from a temporary suspension of laws to an ongoing political act that is also exceptional in what it denies. As political, economic, and social events exert impact across the world, and the movement of goods, financial services, and commercial

¹⁶ Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport; Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*, 9.

¹⁷ Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport; Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*, 9.

¹⁸ Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology; Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, trans. George Schwab (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), 5.

¹⁹ Northcott, *A Political Theology of Climate Change*, 211.

²⁰ Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception*, trans. Kevin Attell (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 2.

²¹ Agamben, *State of Exception*, 40.

products across borders is an inescapable reality, the asylum seekers and refugees that endure months to years in refugee camps before being allowed to cross borders reveal contradictions in the world system of nation-states. The new and ongoing “state of exception” are the millions of migrants arising from contradictions between economic liberalism and territorial sovereignty, and as Northcott argues, “Hence judgments about exceptions, who or what may not come across a border, and when a border infraction is to be resisted become the determinative political acts.”²²

While Westphalian nation-states exert “untrammeled sovereignty over certain territories and [are] subordinated to no earthly authority,” the daily movement of materials, products, financial goods, and pollution challenges sovereignty.²³ Catherine Dauvergne asserts that while the political and economic impact of globalization is increasingly taking more decisions away from nation-states, migration law enables nation-states to “assert their ‘nation-ness’ and exemplify their sovereign control and capacity.”²⁴ Though globalization exerts pressure on the distinct identity of nation-states, nation-states are utilizing migration law to secure borders and “imprint even more strongly than before a sense of self.”²⁵ Economic liberalism promotes commerce and interactions between nation-states, but as demonstrated in contemporary issues of migration, borders remain firmly intact.²⁶ Signifying the different meaning of territorial borders for people and products, Daniel Groody identifies that “the fact that in our current global economy it is easier for a coffee bean to cross borders than those who cultivate it raises serious questions about how our economy is structured and ordered.”²⁷ Pursuits of economic liberalism are disconnected from the admittance of migrants across national borders, and the policies of nation-states towards migrants are “characterized by its formal isolation from other major processes, as if it were possible to handle migration as a bounded,

²² Northcott, *A Political Theology of Climate Change*, 214.

²³ Leo Gross, "The Peace of Westphalia, 1648-1948," *The American Journal of International Law* 42, no. 1 (Jan. 1948): 20.

²⁴ Dauvergne, "Sovereignty, Migration and the Rule of Law in Global Times," 595.

²⁵ Dauvergne, "Sovereignty, Migration and the Rule of Law in Global Times," 588.

²⁶ Douglas S. Massey, J. Edward Taylor, "Introduction," in *International Migration; Prospects and Policies in a Global Market*, ed. Douglas S. Massey, J. Edward Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 4.

²⁷ Daniel G. Groody, "Crossing the Divide: Foundations of a Theology of Migration and Refugees," *Theological Studies* 70 (2009): 645.

closed event.”²⁸ I contend that migration law, employed at the borders of sovereign nation-states, addresses migrants as *ex nihilo* creations by promoting the obfuscation of the interconnected nature of the world.

I argue that the way nation-states react to the migrants arriving at their borders as *ex nihilo* creations results from what Thomas Pogge labels, “explanatory nationalism.” Pogge’s term is developed as a cosmopolitan reaction against the liberal political theory of John Rawls and is defined as the way nation-states view the “causes of severe poverty and of other human deprivations” in foreign nation-states as emerging independently of foreign influence, and not as the result of international actions.²⁹ As I seek to demonstrate in this chapter, explanatory nationalism has roots in the social contract tradition and is present and perpetuated in the liberal political theory of John Rawls. The social contract theories I am about to address disregard the negative impact societies exert across their borders. They emphasize the importance of closed sovereignties, and even in economic liberalism, they refuse to recognize negative impact exerted across borders. Rawls abides by the Hobbesian pursuit of mutual advantage, but provides a liberal account that strives to achieve justice for those in the contracting communities through his philosophical devices of the original position and veil of ignorance. He does not extend these devices internationally, however, and argues that they should only be utilized within a nation. Rawls’s account of international justice in *The Law of Peoples* is a highly influential version of liberal cosmopolitanism. Explanatory nationalism discounts the sociopolitical and economic impetuses for migration between sending and receiving nation-states, and thereby renders migrants as *ex nihilo* creations who are made migrants strictly by the issues arising within sending nation-states. I argue that migrants reveal the falsity of explanatory nationalism and expose a contradiction between economic liberalism and the securitization of borders against the movement of people. I contend that this is an underlying contradiction of the migration crisis demonstrated in the asymmetrical right of migration.

²⁸ Saskia Sassen, “The ‘de facto’ Transnationalizing of Immigration Policy,” in *Challenge to the Nation-State; Immigration in Western Europe and the United States*, ed. Christian Joppke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 62.

²⁹ Pogge, “Do Rawls’s Two Theories of Justice Fit Together?,” 217.

Westphalian sovereignty and explanatory nationalism creates dangers for migrants by stretching the asymmetrical right of migration. Corresponding to the contradiction between a borderless economic liberalism and the strengthening of borders against refugees and migrants, is the asymmetrical right to migration which distances the push and pull factors of migration from decisions about the reception of migrants at the borders of receiving nations. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) recognizes that “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights” and seeks to establish rights that are independent of national citizenship.³⁰ Relating to migration, Article 13 (2) states that “everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country,” and Article 14 (1) that “everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.”³¹ The UDHR recognizes the right of emigration, but in accord with Westphalian sovereignty, the right of immigration remains subject to the discretion of sovereign nation-states. The right to migration is thereby an “asymmetrical right,” in which individuals are granted the right to emigrate, but not the corresponding right to immigrate into any particular country.³² Despite global efforts, such as the UNHCR and the UDHR, migration law abides by a Westphalian notion of nation-states and an international sovereign is not only incapable of superseding the authority of individual nation-states, but is without the strength to demand participation or compromise in working towards possible solutions.³³ Instead, any international effort is strictly a choice of charity on behalf of sovereign nation-states. While the European Union is a collective effort towards the alignment of economic, political, and migration policy, as demonstrated at the height of the European Refugee Crisis, when it comes to issues of migration, nation-states ultimately retain

³⁰ The United Nations, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, December 10, 1948, <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>, (accessed on April 26, 2016).

³¹ Nations, "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," Article 13 (2), Article 14 (1).

³² Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1983), 40.

³³ Tullio Scovazzi, "Human Rights and Immigration at Sea," in *Human Rights and Immigration*, ed. Ruth Rubio-Marín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 212. Addressing the precarious situation of migrants, Graziano Battistella states, “human rights only find protection in the same state that is the source of exclusion,” in Graziano Battistella, "Migration and Human Dignity: From Policies of Exclusion to Policies Based on Human Rights," in *A promised land, a perilous journey: theological perspectives on migration*, ed. Daniel G. Groody and Gioacchino Campese (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 185.

territorial sovereignty. Individual nation-states remain free to enact a “state of exception” at any time, regardless of international agreements. I contend that underlying the asymmetrical right of migration is the refusal of nation-states to acknowledge the interconnected nature of the world. Through explanatory nationalism, nation-states react to situations of migration through a notion of charity, rather than justice. I now examine instances of social contract theory that reveal what I identify as the theoretical roots of the contemporary migration crisis.

3. Hundreds of Detached Sovereignities

The asymmetrical right of migration is not only the result of the absence of an international sovereign, but an explanatory nationalism that enables nation-states to disregard the global impact they exert outside their geopolitical territories. Thomas Hobbes maintained Westphalian notions of national sovereignty by conceptualizing the world as being divided among various detached and autonomous sovereignities that originated through the social contract. Seeking to escape a brutal state of war in nature, Hobbes envisioned individuals contracting together for mutual security and peace, and when extended to the international realm, Hobbes envisioned a world of sovereign nation-states existing in a precarious peace through fear. I argue that the international extension of Hobbesian theory provides valuable insights into real issues that are currently underlying the ongoing migration crisis. These issues include “explanatory nationalism, as well as the intensification of the asymmetrical right to migration, the failure to achieve international solutions because of the refusal of nation-states to cede sovereignty regarding issues of migration, and the creation of the nation-state as the simulacrum for God and faith. Hobbes confined concerns for justice and order to the realm within the territorial borders of sovereign nation-states and disregarded their impact on the wider world. This resulted in Hobbes’s refusal to recognize the need for an international sovereign, which I argue represents the same obstacles facing the implementation of international “burden” sharing schemes.

Hobbes disregarded the world outside the ruling sphere of the sovereign, and stretched the asymmetrical right of migration. Justice, according to Hobbes, was non-existent outside the realm of the sovereign, which thereby freed those inside the contracting community to act with impunity in nature. Disregarding the world

outside the contracting community, Hobbes claimed, “Where there is no common power, there is no law: where no law, no injustice.”³⁴ As Bruno Latour describes, nature subsequently becomes a “dumping ground,” and contracted communities dangerously impact those “exteriorized or externalized” from the social contract in order to survive.³⁵ For Hobbes, because justice only existed within the contracted community, those remaining in the state of nature were relegated to a realm of unconcern or outright hostility and “an explicit collective decision has been made *not* to take them into account; they are to be viewed as insignificant.”³⁶ Disregarding nature intensifies the push and pull factors of migration by exerting negative impact on the world outside the contracting community while also making the safety of the contracting community more appealing. As I will argue in Chapter 4, the harmful impact of climate change, for example, most impacts those who are unable to shield themselves from its effects, which unfortunately, is most often those who least contribute to the causes of climate change. Nation-states thereby stretch the asymmetrical right of migration by strengthening borders against migrants while simultaneously intensifying the push and pull factors that contribute to their migrations.

Hobbes envisioned those excluded from the original contracting community as contracting together for the same motivations of self-defense and preservation that inspired the founding of the original contracting community. As the creation of new contracting communities rescued increasingly more people from the state of nature, these sovereigns and their communities operated according to the same principles that Hobbes identified in the state of nature. The result was a precarious peace between sovereigns that would be “ensured exclusively by reciprocal fear.”³⁷ David Gauthier describes Hobbes’s understanding of international peace as resembling a cold war mentality that relies on nuclear deterrence because peace is maintained only

³⁴ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck, Rev. Student ed., Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), XIII.63: 90.

³⁵ Bruno Latour, *Politics of Nature; How to Bring the Sciences into Democracy*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 124.

³⁶ Latour, *Politics of Nature; How to Bring the Sciences into Democracy*, 124.

³⁷ Norberto Bobbio, *Thomas Hobbes and the natural law tradition*, trans. Daniela Gobetti (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 43.

through the fear of other sovereigns.³⁸ While Hobbes's social contract theory understood the creation of contracted communities escaping the state of nature or war, the proliferation of detached sovereignties at war with another recreated the original state of nature. "With no common power to hold them in awe," Gauthier explains, "sovereigns are engaged in a war of all against all."³⁹ The division of the world into hundreds of sovereign nations-states and the precarious peace between them reveals the lack of power international bodies are capable of exerting in addressing migration. Among the hundreds of sovereign nation-states that exist, no global sovereign is capable of arising from among them that can manage their competing interests and migration law remains the discretion of sovereign nation-states.⁴⁰ As was demonstrated by the differing reactions to refugees among the members of the EU at the height of the European Migration Crisis, regional or international efforts do not supersede domestic borders.⁴¹ The absence of an international sovereign and the resultant precarious peace between sovereign nation-states provides a solid theoretical framework to understand the contemporary world and the ongoing migration crisis.

³⁸ David P. Gauthier, *The Logic of Leviathan: The Moral and Political Theory of Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 207-208. Gauthier also compares Hobbesian peace to nuclear deterrence in David P. Gauthier, "Deterrence, Maximization, and Rationality," *Ethics* 94, no. 3 (1984).

³⁹ Gauthier, *The Logic of Leviathan: The Moral and Political Theory of Thomas Hobbes*, 207.

⁴⁰ The United Nations seems the closest organization to an international sovereignty, but is not because individual nation-states retain sovereignty that can prevent collective action.

⁴¹ The Schengen zone of the European Union has sought free movement within the EU, but at the height of the migration crisis, European nations did not respond as collective unit to issues of migration. For an overview of different reactions ranging from a suspension of the Dublin Agreement in some countries, to fences and the securitization of borders in others, see "How is the Migrant Crisis Dividing EU Countries?," *BBC News*, March 4, 2016, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-34278886> (accessed on April 24, 2016). For a brief overview of common and different immigration policy among the nations of the European Union, see European Commission, "EU Immigration Portal: Explaining the Rules," http://ec.europa.eu/immigration/who-does-what/more-information/explaining-the-rules-why-are-there-eu-rules-and-national-rules_en, (accessed on April 24, 2016). Andrew Geddes points out that despite the Schengen zone's free movement, "extra-EU migration (immigration and asylum policy) has not been subject to similar supranational legal and political developments," in Andrew Geddes, *Immigration and European Integration: Beyond Fortress Europe?*, Second ed., European Policy Research Unit series (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 13.

Seeking to strengthen the power of the ruling sovereign among individuals in a closed national territory, Hobbes sought to redirect faith in God to the sovereign. Hobbes continued the Westphalian nation-building project through the displacement of religion, and employed a sort of “religious fraud” to enable the sovereign to replace clergy and the church, and become a substitute for God.⁴² Hobbes recognized the strength of religion, observing that “As much as eternall torture is more terrible then death, so much they would fear the Clergy more then the King,” and subsequently articulated the view that sovereigns should utilize faith to inspire allegiance.⁴³ While Hobbes maintained divisions between the church and state, “his life’s work was [also] a sustained attempt to obliterate this distinction, to erect a commonwealth that would be, as he explained in the subtitle to *Leviathan*, simultaneously ecclesiastical and civil.”⁴⁴ In other words, Hobbes “rhetorically divinizes the state in order to strengthen its claims against rival authorities, especially religious ones.”⁴⁵ Illustrative of this use of religion, the sovereign depicted on the cover of Hobbes’s *Leviathan* who is “bestowing his protection on a peaceful city, holds the secular sword in one hand and a bishop’s crosier in the other.”⁴⁶ Theocracy, according to Hobbes, was how “theological—ecclesiastical authority is appropriated by the civil sovereign, himself, to ensure that no competing claims to authority are asserted by churches or by priests.”⁴⁷ While churches within the realm of a sovereign could continue to provide opportunities for worship and outreach to the community, they did so at the permission of the sovereign. By focusing faith and allegiance on the sovereign, instead of God, religion was theoretically stripped of its ability to critique the policies of the sovereign or employ actions independently of it.

⁴² Stephen Holmes, "Does Hobbes Have a Concept of the Enemy?," in *Thomas Hobbes and Carl Schmitt: The Politics of Order and Myth*, ed. Johan Tralau (Oxon: Routledge, 2011), 121.

⁴³ Thomas Hobbes, *Behemoth, or the Long Parliament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 125.

⁴⁴ Stephen Holmes, *Passions and Constraint; On the Theory of Liberal Democracy* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 95.

⁴⁵ Holmes, *Passions and Constraint; On the Theory of Liberal Democracy*, 95.

⁴⁶ Holmes, *Passions and Constraint; On the Theory of Liberal Democracy*, 95.

⁴⁷ Ronald Beiner, *Civil Religion: A Dialogue in the History of Political Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 149.

The sovereign became a simulacrum for God and faith, and was believed to be the initiator and guardian of peace in a national territory.

4. National Consciousness and Identify: The Denial of Hybridity

Whereas Hobbes sought to strengthen the power of the sovereign by shifting the populace's faith in God to the state, Jean-Jacques Rousseau attempted to remove faith from the public realm so that civil religion could be cultivated in its place.⁴⁸ Civil religion relegates faith and the distinct public witness of the church to the private realm, where it is without the ability to assert a public or political theology. Rousseau employed civil religion to cultivate national consciousness, while also denying the hybridity of cultures. Rousseau represents contemporary fears that migrants threaten national consciousness by importing foreign identities, while also critiquing the identity of Christians as both believers in Jesus Christ and citizens in the nation-states where they live. I examine Rousseau's notion of a civil religion as not only a continuation of the Westphalian notion that religion is dangerous to the nation-state, but as presenting a harmful dogma that promotes false perceptions of a homogenous culture, and detracting from the prophetic witness of the church.

Rousseau's civil religion differed from Hobbes's theocratic strategy by implementing a division between the public and private realms, or the state and church, to render religion as being incapable of impacting the public realm.⁴⁹ By restricting faith to the private realm, Rousseau sought to strengthen universal affinities within the public realm through a civil religion that promoted peace among diverse individuals living within the borders of the sovereign. While the promotion of peace among diverse individuals is critical in a liberal society, it need not come at the abandonment of religion. Rousseau critiqued religion, arguing,

But this Religion, since it has no particular relation to the body politic, leaves the laws with only the force they derive from themselves without adding any

⁴⁸ Beiner, *Civil Religion; A Dialogue in the History of Political Philosophy*, 13. This difference between Rousseau and Hobbes is also affirmed by Ethan Putterman, *Rousseau, Law and the Sovereignty of the People* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 83.

⁴⁹ William Cavanaugh states, "Rousseau prefers the 'religion of man,' Christianity, but not that Christianity practiced by the church. The religion of man has no churches and no rites, but is to do only with 'purely inward worship of Almighty God and the eternal obligations of morality,' as found in the Gospels," in Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence: Secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict*, 128.

other force to them, and hence one of the great bonds of particular societies remains without effect. What is more; far from attaching the Citizens' hearts to the State it detaches them from it as from all earthy things. I know of nothing more contrary to the social spirit.⁵⁰

Civil religion not only sought unity among the populace by suppressing "cultural, regional, or ethnic cleavages that might potentially be mobilized" against the state, but by making the sovereign and unity of society the primary good.⁵¹ In so doing, Rousseau negated the distinct witness of the church in the world and disregarded the ways that I will assert churches contribute to good of society through their counter-cultural witness. Rousseau maintained that the division between the private and public realms occurred with Jesus himself, and claimed, "Jesus came to establish a Spiritual Kingdom on earth; which, by separating the theological from the political system, led to the State's ceasing to be one."⁵² The division between the public and private realms enabled the state to be the Westphalian peacekeeper between diverse autonomous individuals, and nation-building projects garnered affinity and support for the sovereign.

Civil religion depended upon closed borders that not only limited migration but also denied the hybridity of cultures. Whereas Hobbes granted the sovereign the authority to rule despite varying desires and emotions among the populace, Rousseau sought to cultivate the sovereign's power through the popular will and support of the people, and used civil religion to this end.⁵³ For Rousseau, national consciousness was the "centrifugal force" necessary for creating unitary nations from disparate individuals.⁵⁴ Rousseau's emphasis on national consciousness rendered migrants a threat because they were assumed to adhere to conflicting loyalties that had not yet been subdued through national education and the civil religion. Rousseau sought to cultivate the sovereign's power through national identity, which as Michael Walzer

⁵⁰ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Of the Social Contract," in *The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings*; *Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought*, ed. Victor Gourevitch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), IV.8.21: 147.

⁵¹ Anna Stilz, *Liberal Loyalty; Freedom, Obligation, and the State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 132.

⁵² Rousseau, "Of the Social Contract," IV.8.8: 144.

⁵³ Interestingly, Hobbes, an Englishman wrote *Leviathan* from Paris, and Rousseau, a Frenchman alternated between France and Switzerland, and fled to Britain at one point, yet both fail to provide any account for movement between contracted communities.

⁵⁴ Rousseau, "Of the Social Contract," II.10.4: 75.

asserts, is “a more elaborate social creation, the work of many hands, mixing reality and symbol.”⁵⁵ Rousseau pursued a unitary national consciousness that embodied the nation-building projects critiqued by postcolonial theory. By striving to inspire sentiments of unity amid a diversity of competing interests, Rousseau can be understood as employing “falsely unifying rubrics” that invent “collective identities from numbers of people who are actually quite diverse.”⁵⁶ In agreement with postcolonial theorists, Ernest Gellner avers that “nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men...are a myth” and asserts that “nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures...is a reality, for better or worse, and in general an inescapable one.”⁵⁷ The “mixing of reality and symbol” to create the modern nation-state inspires a loyalty and allegiance that Alasdair MacIntyre and William Cavanaugh believes is akin to “killing for the telephone company.”⁵⁸ Rousseau depended upon a closed national system that cultivated national consciousness among citizens within territorial borders. Arising from the sovereign’s reliance on national identity for power, Rousseau viewed anything contrary to these “falsely unifying rubrics” as a threat to the nation-state.

Though Rousseau’s social contract theory differed from Hobbes’s in motivation and the ways in which the sovereign derived authority, he also envisioned numerous detached sovereignties.⁵⁹ Deriving the sovereign’s power from national consciousness and identity, Rousseau feared that the nation’s size could exceed its ability to cultivate imaginary bonds between citizens. Rousseau explained, “In every body politic there is a maximum of force which it cannot exceed,” and “the more the

⁵⁵ Walzer, *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*, 11.

⁵⁶ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin, 2003), 5.

⁵⁷ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 47.

⁵⁸ MacIntyre referenced “being asked to die for the telephone company” in Alasdair MacIntyre, “A Partial Response to My Critics,” in *After MacIntyre: Critical Perspectives on the Work of Alasdair MacIntyre*, ed. John Horton, Susan Mendus (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 303. Cavanaugh alters MacIntyre’s phrase, which is quoted here, in William T. Cavanaugh, “‘Killing for the Telephone Company,’” in *Migrations of the holy: God, state, and the political meaning of the church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2011), 7.

⁵⁹ Rousseau claims, “With the first society formed, the formation of all the others necessarily follows. One must either belong to it or unite to resist it. One must either imitate it or let oneself be swallowed by it. Thus, the whole face of the earth is changed; every nature has disappeared...” in Rousseau, “State of War,” Par. 22: 167.

social bond stretches, the looser it grows, and in general a small State is proportionately stronger than a large one.”⁶⁰ Numerous detached sovereignties exist because even the strongest of sovereigns is limited by its ability to promote and extend feelings of affinity and loyalty across vast expanses of geopolitical territory. The impossibility of a global sovereign implies the necessity of numerous detached sovereigns. Political cosmopolitanism is impossible, and communitarian interests must rule according to Rousseau, who asserted,

...but also the people has less affection for its chiefs whom it never sees, for a fatherland which in its eyes as [big as] the world, and for its fellow-citizens most of whom are strangers to it. The same laws cannot suit such a variety of different provinces with different morals, living in widely different climates, unable to tolerate the same form of government. Different laws give rise to nothing but trouble and confusion among peoples who, living under the same chiefs and in constant contact with one another, move back and forth from their own territory to their neighbors’, inter-marry, and, since they are then subject to different customs, never quite know whether their patrimony is really theirs.⁶¹

Rousseau’s social contract theory resulted in hundreds of detached sovereignties, each distinguished by local definitions of justice. Migration represents a threat to Rousseau’s articulation of national consciousness by presenting foreign influences that challenge the sovereign. Rousseau’s denial of hybridity not only discounts the hybridity that is already present within cultures, as I will examine later in this chapter, but negates the positive contributions migrants make to a society. Moreover, Rousseau similarly failed to recognize how Christianity and other religions can positively contribute to a society through their identification as both people of faith and citizens who care about a particular place and the world.

5. Commerce Instead of War: Contradictions of Trade and Territory

Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill subscribed to the divisions between nation-states articulated by Hobbes and Rousseau, but emphasized how economic liberalism necessitated interactions between people and achieved a cosmopolitan concern and peace. Despite these economic interactions, however, borders remained firmly intact regarding human migration, thereby creating a contradiction between economic

⁶⁰ Rousseau, "Of the Social Contract," II.9.1: 74.

⁶¹ Rousseau, "Of the Social Contract," II.9.3: 74.

liberalism and territorial sovereignty.⁶² This adherence to the detached nation-states of Westphalian sovereignty alongside economic liberalism continues today. Liberal economic policies represented by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), for example, augment historic patterns of migration through free trade agreements, while sociopolitical efforts simultaneously utilize migration law to maintain political and territorial sovereignty.⁶³ Understood in this light, migration law represents struggles to maintain sovereignty amidst the realities that compel migration, and migration reveals the falsity of explanatory nationalism and the reality of the interconnected nature of the world.

Instead of replacing God with the sovereign like Hobbes or domesticating faith through civil religion like Rousseau, Smith and Mill contended that the “invisible hand” of commerce could achieve peaceful relations among diverse individuals through the entirely secular means of commerce.⁶⁴ Connecting the “invisible hand” of commerce to the Westphalian project already identified in the social contract theories of Hobbes and Rousseau, John Milbank claims, “The ‘hidden hand’ of the marketplace is somewhat more than a metaphor, because God-Nature has placed self-interest and the ‘trucking dispensation’ in individuals in such a way that their operation will result in overall harmony.”⁶⁵ For Smith and Mill, commerce replaced God and achieved peace within and between nation-states by promoting their collective good. As Charles Taylor described the situation, “The impetus to money-making is seen as a ‘calm passion’. When it takes hold in a society, it can

⁶² Massey, "Introduction," 4.

⁶³ Regarding NAFTA, Peter Andreas states, “Even as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) promotes de-territorialization of the economy, U.S. border control initiatives reinforce state claims to territorial authority. Thus, the apparent paradox of U.S.-Mexico integration is that a barricaded border and a borderless economy are being created simultaneously,” in Peter Andreas, "The Escalation of U.S. Immigration Control in the Post-NAFTA Era," *Political Science Quarterly* 113, no. 4, Winter (1998-1999): 593. Additionally, as Douglas Massey states, “An entire population of Mexicans suddenly changed national status while maintaining kinship and friendship bonds in their country of origin,” in Douglas S. Massey, "Borders for Whom? The Role of NAFTA in Mexico-U.S. Migration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 610, NAFTA and Beyond: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Global Trade and Development (2007): 106.

⁶⁴ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of the Nations*, ed. R.H. Campbell, A.S. Skinner, W.B. Todd, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), Book IV.ii.9: 456.

⁶⁵ John Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory: Beyond Secular Reason*, Second edition. ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 41.

help to control or inhibit the violent passions.”⁶⁶ While Smith and Mill promoted economic liberalism across borders, the principles espoused by Hobbes and Rousseau continued to exert influence as people remained inherently defined by their citizenship in particular nation-states.

Adam Smith recognized a Hobbesian state of war existing between different nation-states and argued that economic liberalism promoted peace. Smith argued that “independent and neighbouring nations, having no common superior to decide their disputes, all live in continual dread and suspicion of one another,” and that “each sovereign, expecting little justice from his neighbours, is disposed to treat them with as little as he expects from them.”⁶⁷ Rather than settling for a fragile peace through deterrence and fear, Smith defined how diverse and autonomous individuals within distinct realms collaborated for peace. Guided by economic liberalism, Smith believed that the “search for our own individual prosperity redounds to the general welfare.”⁶⁸ A global sovereign is unnecessary, not because of the precarious peace that existed through Hobbesian deterrence, but because through “the invisible hand,” economic pursuits would reconcile diverse interests that would benefit society.⁶⁹ According to Smith, the “invisible hand” supplanted faith, and societal altruism could be achieved by secular means. Whereas Rousseau supplanted religion with nationalism, Smith understood “economic self-interest as a kind of displacement or sublimation of the lust, power-hunger and military ambition of the ancient régime,” and he therefore supplanted religion with economic exchange.⁷⁰

John Stuart Mill described how economic exchange brings increasingly more people into contact, thereby enlarging understandings between cultures and

⁶⁶ Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 180.

⁶⁷ Adam Smith, *A Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ed. D.D. Raphael, A.L. Macfie (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 228.

⁶⁸ Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 177.

⁶⁹ Taylor states, “There is no collective agent here, indeed, the account amounts to a denial of such. There are agents, individuals acting on their own behalf, but the global upshot happens behind their backs. It has a certain predictable form, because there are certain laws governing the way in which their myriad individual actions concatenate,” in Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 181.

⁷⁰ Terry Eagleton, *Trouble with Strangers: A Study of Ethics* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 15.

cultivating international peace.⁷¹ Mill described international peace in utilitarian terms by recognizing how commerce inspired mutual benefits for nations, and like Smith, claimed that “commerce is now, what war once was, the principal source of this contact.”⁷² Smith and Mill envisioned economic liberalism creating “a new cosmopolis that could replicate the harmony born of familiarity and habitual fellow-feeling, and could even replicate the effects of law and coercion without stifling modern commercial aspirations.”⁷³ Mill argued that before commerce, nations remained in a Hobbesian state of war, but through commerce they developed a cosmopolitan concern, explaining,

commerce first taught nations to see with good will the wealth and prosperity of one another. Before, the patriot wished all countries weak, poor, and ill-governed, but his own; he now sees in their wealth and progress a direct source of wealth and progress to his own country. It was in vain to inculcate feelings of brotherhood among mankind by moral influences alone, unless a sense of community interest could also be established; and that sense we owe to commerce. It is commerce which is rapidly rendering war obsolete, by strengthening and multiplying the personal interests which are in natural opposition to it. And since war is now almost the only event, not highly improbable, which could throw back for any length of time the progress of human improvement, it may be said without exaggeration that the great extent and rapid increase of international trade, in being the principal guarantee of the peace of the world, is the great permanent security for the uninterrupted progress of the ideas, the institutions, and the character of the human race.⁷⁴

Commerce, according to Mill, was not only the route of escape from the harsh Hobbesian state of war, but was a way to achieve Rousseau’s goal of a unified national consciousness.

The promotion of economic commerce as a pathway towards peace continues to exert influence on contemporary society. As was demonstrated during the Cold War, the West became increasingly identified with “the free movement of goods, persons, and ideas,” and the promotion of these ideals became a weapon against

⁷¹ John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, vol. II (Boston, MA: Charles C. Little & James Brown, 1848), III.XVII: 122.

⁷² Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, II, III.XVII: 122.

⁷³ Fonna Forman-Barzilai, *Adam Smith and the Circles of Sympathy; Cosmopolitanism and Moral Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 212.

⁷⁴ Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, II, III.XVII: 122.

Communism.⁷⁵ As Pierre Manent describes the situation, “the hyperbolic wars of the twentieth century did not destroy this confidence in the pacifying effect of commerce,” but “on the contrary, they have given rise to renewed efforts to guarantee the liberty and increase the role of commercial trade.”⁷⁶ Despite international economic interactions, borders remain firmly intact for people, thereby creating disjunctions between economic liberalism and territorial sovereignty.⁷⁷ In this way, migration law represents the struggle to maintain sovereignty amidst the global realities that compel migration, and migration reveals the falsity of explanatory nationalism and the reality of the interconnected nature of the world. Recognizing catalysts for migration within the contradictory efforts of pursuing economic liberalism and striving to retain territorial sovereignty, receiving nations are implicated as participants in the processes of migration and reveal that migration is not an *ex nihilo* issue arising strictly at the borders of nation-states.⁷⁸

6. Migration: The Intersection of Universal Rights and Sovereignty

Immanuel Kant recognized rights detached from membership in particular nation-states, but the right to hospitality was limited to identifying migrants as temporary agents of commerce rather than permanent settlers. Kant’s categorical imperative famously claimed, “a human being, and in general every rational being, *does exist* as an end in himself, *not merely as a means* to be used by this or that will as it pleases. In all his actions, whether they are directed to himself or to other

⁷⁵ Pierre Manent, *A World Beyond Politics?: A Defense of the Nation-state* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 86.

⁷⁶ Manent, *A World Beyond Politics?: A Defense of the Nation-state*, 86.

⁷⁷ Massey, "Introduction," 4.

⁷⁸ Migration between Mexico and the United States is deeply entrenched in historical patterns. The ending of the Mexican–American War in 1848 resulted in the Rio Grande River becoming the border between Mexico and the USA, and the annexation of Texas, New Mexico, and Alta California from Mexico. Douglass Massey states, “An entire population of Mexicans suddenly changed national status while maintaining kinship and friendship bonds in their country of origin,” in Massey, “Borders for Whom? The Role of NAFTA in Mexico–U.S. Migration,” 106. The Bracero Program addressed shortages in American labor in the American Southwest following the Great Depression, as addressed in Timothy J. Henderson, *Beyond Borders: A History of Mexican Migration to the United States* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 67. George Borjas attributes increased undocumented migration to the stoppage of the Bracero Program in George J. Borjas, *Mexican Immigration to the United States*, A National Bureau of Economic Research; Conference Report (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 4.

rational being, a human being must always be viewed *at the same time as an end*.”⁷⁹ Kant laid the groundwork for a cosmopolitan concern that stretched across borders, however, as I will demonstrate, he remained circumscribed by similar concerns as Hobbes, Rousseau, Smith and Mill.

Kant adhered to Westphalian notions of the world being divided among sovereign nation-states, but asserted that it was advisable for a nation-state, “for the sake of its security,” to negotiate with other nation-states to form a “league of nations.”⁸⁰ Replacing the individuals of Hobbes’s state of war with sovereign nation-states, Kant understood the “malevolence of human nature” as being “unconcealed in the free relations of nations,” and argued for something more durable than the ad hoc and precarious peace favored by Hobbes.⁸¹ Kant envisaged a league of nations forming from a negotiation among multiple sovereign nation-states to escape the brutish state of war. Kant sought to fill the void created by the absence of an international sovereign, not through the “invisible hand” of commerce like Smith and Mill, but through a contracted relationship that maintained sovereignty. In this way, Kant abided by the Hobbesian disregard for a global sovereign, while also working within Rousseau’s rejection of a borderless world. In Kant’s vision of a league of nations, nation-states, and not individuals, negotiated a contract for peace.

In addition to “a league of nations” working “towards perpetual peace,” Kant recognized the benefits of commerce for strengthening bonds between nations and helping to develop a conception of rights that transcended the borders of the nation-state. Kant claimed that through commerce “distant parts of the world can enter peaceably into relations with one another, which can eventually become publicly lawful and so finally bring the human race ever closer to a cosmopolitan constitution.”⁸² Kant argued that commerce and the accompanying interactions across borders and between cultures strengthened international relationships by creating bonds that were conducive to peace. Recalling the role of commerce for creating peace between nations in the writings of Smith and Mill, Pauline Kleingeld

⁷⁹ Immanuel Kant, *Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals*, ed. Thomas E. Hill and Arnulf Zweig, Oxford Philosophical Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 229.

⁸⁰ Immanuel Kant, “Toward Perpetual Peace (1795),” in *Practical Philosophy: Immanuel Kant*, ed. Mary J. Gregor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 326.

⁸¹ Kant, “Toward Perpetual Peace (1795),” 326.

⁸² Kant, “Toward Perpetual Peace (1795),” 329.

identifies something similar within Kant, and asserts that “the same dynamics of self-interest, in turn, will lead states to wage war at first, and subsequently, again out of self-interest, to pursue an international federation to bring about peace.”⁸³ Through the increased communications of global travel and economic exchange, Kant described that the cosmopolitan constitution as reaching the point where

Since the (narrower or wider) community of the nations of the earth has now gone so far that a violation of right on *one* place of the earth is felt in *all*, the idea of a cosmopolitan right is no fantastic and exaggerated way of representing right; it is, instead, a supplement to the unwritten code of the right of a state and the right of nations necessary for the sake of any public rights of human beings and so for perpetual peace; only under this condition can we flatter ourselves that we are constantly approaching perpetual peace.⁸⁴

While Kant recognized that international commerce increased communication and therefore familiarity and peace with foreigners, he maintained the concept of closed nation-states promoted by Hobbes, Rousseau, Smith, and Mill.

Acknowledging that the world is not infinite, but of a “spherical form,” and that migration, and thus contact with foreign peoples, is inevitable, Kant developed the idea of the cosmopolitan right as not only the right to travel, but also to be received hospitably.⁸⁵ Kant, however, limited the extension of the cosmopolitan right to temporary agents of commerce, and not to potential settlers. While recognizing a cosmopolitan right owed to humanity due to the nature of humanity and the common possession of the earth, Kant’s concerns remained restricted by economic liberalism like Smith and Mill, and he insisted that “this right to hospitality – that is, the authorization of a foreign newcomer – does not extend beyond the conditions which make it possible to *seek* commerce with the old inhabitants.”⁸⁶ Kant described the cosmopolitan right to travel across borders, explaining,

this right [the right to visit], to present oneself for society, belongs to all human beings by virtue of the right of possession in common of the earth’s surface on which, as a sphere, they cannot disperse infinitely but must finally put up with being near one another; but originally no one had more right than another to be on a place on the earth. Uninhabitable parts of the earth’s

⁸³ Pauline Kleingeld, *Kant and Cosmopolitanism: The Philosophical Ideal of World Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 65.

⁸⁴ Kant, “Toward Perpetual Peace (1795),” 330.

⁸⁵ Seyla Benhabib, *Another Cosmopolitanism*, The Berkeley Tanner Lectures (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 91.

⁸⁶ Kant, “Toward Perpetual Peace (1795),” 329.

surface, seas and deserts, divide this community, but in such a way that *ships* and *camels* (*ships* of the desert) make it possible to approach one another over these regions belongs to no one and to make use of the right to the *earth's surface*, which belongs to the human race in common, for possible commerce.⁸⁷

Through the principle of the cosmopolitan right, Kant claimed the right of individuals to traverse the borders of sovereign nation-states and to be treated hospitably within those borders. While the cosmopolitan right mandates hospitality, it is a limited right, not only to foreigners as temporary agents of commerce, but in terms of what is owed to those people. In contrast to the aid and rescue and self-sacrifice I articulate in later chapters, the cosmopolitan right, according to Kant, is the right not to be treated violently. Nevertheless, as I am about to describe, such a limited right would not be a terrible minimum in a world adhering to explanatory nationalism and that views issues of migration as charitable and not just acts.

For Kant, commerce is vital to increasing interactions across cultures because he identified a skeptical caution underlying all human interactions that he labeled “the unsociable sociability of human beings.” Kant defined “unsociable sociability” as the “propensity to enter into society, which, however, is combined with a thoroughgoing resistance that constantly threatens to break up this society.”⁸⁸ Unsocial sociability integrates “cosmopolitan curiosity” across borders, “with an extraordinary human reluctance to take others’ practices seriously, as competitors or alternatives to his own views about what he actually owes to others in the way of forbearance and respect.”⁸⁹ Kant identified potential conflicts between cosmopolitan and communitarian concerns, and as Jeremy Waldron concludes, cultures “show some half-hearted self-protectiveness for the integrity of their own traditions and practices” while also having “intense mutual curiosity, with various people on all sides going out of their way to engage in active and inquisitive intercultural

⁸⁷ Kant, “Toward Perpetual Peace (1795),” 329.

⁸⁸ Immanuel Kant, “Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Aim,” in *Kant's Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Aim: A Critical Guide*, ed. Amélie Rorty and James Schmidt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 13.

⁸⁹ Jeremy Waldron, “What is Cosmopolitan?,” *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 8, no. 2 (2000): 237.

arbitrage.”⁹⁰ Kant balanced the inevitable contact between people of different cultures and the unsocial sociability of humanity through the cosmopolitan right. The cosmopolitan right “means the right of a stranger not to be treated as an enemy when he arrives in the land of another,” but as Jeremy Waldron asserts, this claim was “understood primarily in terms of a set of constraints governing what a people was entitled to do in the course of this process as they came alongside strangers, or what they were entitled to do as strangers moved closer to them.”⁹¹

Against the refusal of some receiving nations and individuals to allow refugees to exercise their legal right to seek asylum, Kant’s cosmopolitan right would not be a terrible minimum. Waldron describes the context in which Kant develops the cosmopolitan right as coming “in the midst of his ferocious criticism of European colonial exploitation in America, Africa, and the Indies—places, he says, where Europeans ‘drink wrongfulness like water.’”⁹² Kant therefore rejected the belief that “colonial conquests, with their oppression, wars, and famine, were justified because they brought an advanced culture to backward peoples.”⁹³ Kant’s universalism arose from the compromise between his optimism of cosmopolitan right and his pessimism, or realism, regarding the unsocial social.

7. Is Migration a Right? Rawlsian Social Contract Theory

Having identified underlying issues of the contemporary migration crisis in the social contract traditions that emerged before and during the Enlightenment, I now turn to contemporary political theory to address issues of justice, borders, communities, and varying conceptions of balancing the needs of citizens and strangers. The Human Development Index (HDI) of the United Nations depicts drastic fluctuations between nations regarding life expectancy, education, and

⁹⁰ Jeremy Waldron, "Teaching Cosmopolitan Right," in *Citizenship and education in liberal-democratic societies teaching for cosmopolitan values and collective identities*, ed. Kevin McDonough and Walter Feinberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 33. To further support my use of scripture in developing an ethical examination of a contemporary issue, it is interesting to note that Waldron references Acts 11 to illustrate his point of about the hybridity of cultures and the underlying suspicions that he identifies between them.

⁹¹ Waldron, "What is Cosmopolitan?," 238.

⁹² Jeremy Waldron, "Cosmopolitanism Norms," in *Another Cosmopolitanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 90.

⁹³ Bernard Semmel, *The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1993), 4.

income.⁹⁴ The quality of life, job opportunities, and in some instances, even the weather we enjoy or endure, are to some extent determined by the nation-states in which we live.⁹⁵ Warren Buffet, one of the most successful financial investors in the world, remarked that it was the “combination of living in America, some lucky genes, and compound interest” that has created his wealth, and that he and his children have “won” what he has coined the “ovarian lottery.”⁹⁶ Recalling my realizations and experiences in the Dominican Republic with which I began this thesis, and the recognition that I did nothing to earn the benefits bestowed upon me at birth, some of which are mine strictly owing to the country of my citizenship, is it fair that people are circumscribed by the places into which they are born? Seyla Benhabib reframes my question, asking, “Are the borders within which we happen to be born, and the documents to which we are entitled, any less arbitrary from a moral point of view than other characteristics such as skin color, gender, and genetic make-up with which we are endowed?”⁹⁷

While domestic laws prevent discrimination based upon race, gender, and religion, and ensure that one’s life is not limited by identities inherited at birth, laws and regulations regarding arbitrary traits are non-existent across the international realm. Intensifying inequalities between nations, and subsequently the asymmetrical right of migration, nation-states exert unrestricted impact across territorial borders that further weakens the life prospects within nation-states that are less able to shield themselves from the negative impacts of the interconnected nature of the world, such as climate change or uneven economic arrangements. Ayelet Shachar argues that birthright citizenship has “effectively become intertwined with distributing shares in human survival on a global scale—designating some to a life of relative comfort while condemning others to a constant struggle to overcome the basic threats of

⁹⁴ UNDP, Human Development Report; Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience, 2014, <http://hdr.undp.org>, (accessed on April 26, 2016).

⁹⁵ While an American has the capability of moving between the varied climates of the United States of America, a Filipino does not have the same access within the borders of the Philippines.

⁹⁶ Warren Buffet, “My Philanthropic Pledge,” in *Why Philanthropy Matters; How the Wealthy Give, and What It Means for our Economic Well-Being*, ed. Zoltan J. Acs (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 208.

⁹⁷ Seyla Benhabib, *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents and Citizens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 95.

insecurity, hunger, and destitutions.”⁹⁸ Recognizing the benefits and disadvantages bestowed on individuals as a result of the location of their birth as being morally arbitrary, to what extent should migration be considered as fundamental a human right as the right not to be subjected to discrimination and prejudice based upon other morally arbitrary traits, such as those that are protected in most democratic societies or those listed in the 1951 Convention of Refugees?

John Rawls developed a post-Kantian social contract theory that sought “justice as fairness” by accounting for the morally arbitrary traits of birthright citizenship within nation-states through the philosophical devices of the original position and veil of ignorance.⁹⁹ The original position “corresponds to the state of nature in the traditional theory of the social contract,” while the veil of ignorance is Rawls’s unique contribution to the social contract tradition that sought to preserve the inviolability of individuals “that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override.”¹⁰⁰ Behind the veil of ignorance, “no one knows his place in society, his class position or social status, nor does any one know his fortune in the distribution of natural assets and abilities, his intelligence, strength, and the like.”¹⁰¹ In this way, Rawls attempted to uphold Kantian rights by asking individuals to imagine how they would want to be treated by others in a world where they were unaware of their social standing and identity, and to develop a system of justice accordingly. Rawls’s attempt to establish “justice as fairness” echoed calls for equality and impartiality as is found in Leviticus 19:15: “You shall not render an unjust judgment; you shall not be partial to the poor or defer to the great: with justice you shall judge your neighbor.” Additionally, Rawls’s challenge to members of the original position to envision how they would want to be treated resonates with Matthew 22:39, “You shall love your neighbor as yourself.” By challenging individuals to determine the ways in which they would want to be treated in a world where they did not know any

⁹⁸ Ayelet Shachar, *The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 12.

⁹⁹ John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, Revised ed. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 4. John Rawls, *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement*, ed. Erin Kelly (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2001), 82.

¹⁰⁰ Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, 12, 3.

¹⁰¹ Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, 11.

of the morally arbitrary traits that make up their identity, Rawls's philosophical devices sought justice among diverse individuals. Rawls argued,

The reason the original position must abstract from and not be affected by the contingencies of the social world is that the conditions for a fair agreement on the principles of political justice between free and equal persons must eliminate the bargaining advantages that inevitably arise with the background institutions of any society from cumulative social, historical, and natural tendencies. These contingent advantages and accidental influences from the past should not affect an agreement on the principles that are to regulate the institutions of the basic structure itself from the present into the future.¹⁰²

The original position and veil of ignorance serve as philosophical devices that allow participants in a domestic society to achieve principles for justice as fairness.

While providing a powerful philosophical tool for determining standards of justice among diverse individuals unequally advantaged and disadvantaged by birthright citizenship within nation-states, Rawls failed to consider the inequalities arising from birthright citizenship across borders and the inequalities that exist between nation-states. Instead, similar the other social contract theorists already engaged, Rawls understood the contracting community as “a self-sufficient scheme of cooperation” and provided no account of migration between the territorial borders of these closed communities.¹⁰³ Rawls explained,

Since I suppose the society in question is closed, we are to imagine that there is no entry or exit except by birth and death: thus persons are born into society taken as self-sufficient scheme of cooperation, and we are to conceive of persons as having the capacity to be normal and fully cooperating members of society over a complete life.¹⁰⁴

By limiting concern strictly to those within a closed nation-state, Rawls settled for a fundamental inequality between nation-states. This is surprising not only because his philosophical devices effectively work when extended internationally, but also because he acknowledged how the places we live shape the lives we lead, asserting,

However, these abilities and talents cannot come to fruition apart from social conditions, and as realized they always take but one of many possible forms.

¹⁰² John Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2005), 23.

¹⁰³ John Rawls, *Liberty, Equality, and Law: Selected Tanner Lectures on Moral Philosophy*, ed. John Rawls and S. M. McMurrin (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1987), 15.

¹⁰⁴ Rawls, *Liberty, Equality, and Law: Selected Tanner Lectures on Moral Philosophy*, 15. Rawls again affirms that his theorizing within a closed domestic system in Rawls, *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement*, 40.

Developed natural capacities are always a selection, and a small selection at that, from the possibilities that might have been attained. In addition, an ability is not, for example, a computer in the head with a definite measurable capacity unaffected by social circumstances. Among the elements affecting the realization of natural capacities are social attitudes of encouragement and support and the institutions concerned with their training and use. Thus even a potential ability at any given time is not something unaffected by existing social forms and particular contingencies over the course of life up to that moment. So not only our final ends and hopes for ourselves but also our realized abilities and talents reflect, to a large degree, our personal history, opportunities, and social position. There is no way of knowing what we might have been had these things been different.¹⁰⁵

While recognizing the impact of social conditions and “the inequalities in life-prospects between citizens that arise from social starting-positions, natural advantages and historical contingencies,” Rawls refused to address these inequalities within the international arena.¹⁰⁶ Rawls remained circumscribed by a Hobbesian understanding of detached sovereignties operating independently of one another and declined to address the global inequalities arising from birthright citizenship.

Despite the effectiveness of Rawlsian theory for conceptualizing liberal rights for individuals within a domestic society, Rawls does not extend his principles to the international realm. Echoing Rousseau’s claim that nations must rely on a centrifugal force of national consciousness, Rawls argues that “the Law of Peoples starts with the need for common sympathies, no matter what their source may be.”¹⁰⁷ Referring to Rousseau’s “*amour-propre*,” Rawls asserts that a society rests “on their common awareness of their trials during their history and of their culture with its accomplishments,” and these societies are best protected through the maintenance of borders.¹⁰⁸ Another reason Rawls maintains a strictly domestic conception of justice is that Rawls believes that individuals must do their fair share in society and that reciprocity and mutual expectations among those within a society is critical to their receiving the benefits conferred upon the members of a society. Migrants are thereby excluded from the social contract because they do not share the unique history of a

¹⁰⁵ John Rawls, “The Basic Structure as Subject,” in *Values and Morals: Essays in Honor of William Frankena, Charles Stevenson, and Richard Brandt*, ed. William K. Frankena, et al. (Dordrecht, Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Co., 1978), 56.

¹⁰⁶ Rawls, “The Basic Structure as Subject,” 56.

¹⁰⁷ John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples: with, The Idea of Public Reason Revisited* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 24.

¹⁰⁸ Rawls, *The Law of Peoples: with, The Idea of Public Reason Revisited*, 34.

society and as newcomers they are understood as being beneficiaries without having made the necessary sacrifice for mutual life in society. For these reasons, Rawls argues against the international extension of his philosophical devices and decides against incorporating the needs of migrants in his social contract theory.

While maintaining Kantian rights for citizens of a domestic society, Rawls refuses to extend these rights to individuals in foreign societies. Pogge argues that “Rawls decides against any principle for preserving international background justice...because he falls for what may be the most harmful dogma ever conceived: explanatory nationalism...”¹⁰⁹ Rawls, similar to social contract theorists before him, refused to recognize the ways nation-states exert detrimental impact beyond their borders. While economic liberalism promoted increased trade and interaction across borders in pursuit of mutual advantage, the causes of poverty and other ills within a society were viewed as arising strictly due to domestic factors. Rawls demonstrated this belief in his brief discussion and dismissal of famine. As I address in Chapter 4 with reference to scripture, as well as economist, Amartya Sen, famine is rarely the result of isolated domestic factors. Yet in direct opposition to Sen, Rawls demonstrated an adherence to explanatory nationalism, and claimed, “famines are often themselves in large part caused by political failures and the absence of decent government” and “are attributable to faults within the political and social structure, and its failure to institute policies to remedy the effects of shortfalls in food production.”¹¹⁰ Rawls chose not to address famine or migration because of explanatory nationalism. He argued that if the nation-states where famine is experienced or people feel compelled to migrate away from would fix their domestic structures, then famine and migration would cease to be a problem. Rawls, and the social contract theories already addressed, represent a sentiment that must be addressed if decisions on whether not to admit migrants into the life of nation-states, as well as whether the extension of aid to migrants is a matter of charity or justice. As Pogge states, “Explanatory nationalism sends a message that has become deeply entrenched in common sense. It makes us look at poverty and oppression as problems whose root causes and possible solutions are domestic to the foreign

¹⁰⁹ Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms*, 217.

¹¹⁰ Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, 109.

countries in which they occur.”¹¹¹ By understanding poverty, or for the primary purposes of this research, migration, which may be an outcome of poverty, as occurring only due to domestic causes without international influence, decisions regarding the admittance of migrants at the borders of receiving nations is made strictly as an act of charity.

8. Liberal-egalitarian and Cosmopolitan Responses to Rawls

Cosmopolitan and liberal-egalitarian theorists each respond to incongruences between the Kantian principles Rawls claimed to base his theories upon and their application within closed nation-states, by seeking to extend the Rawlsian devices of the original position and veil of ignorance to include the world. Martha Nussbaum defines cosmopolitans as those “whose primary allegiance is to the worldwide community of human beings,” and argues that justice is a concern within and across the borders of sovereign nation-states.¹¹² Nussbaum enlarges Rawls’s original position to include all who are traditionally excluded, such as those with disabilities and those living in other nations on the basis of their all being “bearers of equal human dignity,” and argues that “if they have special problems, those problems need to be addressed from the start, in the design of the entire system of global justice, not as an afterthought and a matter of charity.”¹¹³ Against Rawls, Nussbaum argues that individuals, and not the collective of peoples promoted by Rawls’s “law of peoples,” are the proper unit at which a contract must be negotiated. Nussbaum argues against the false unifying rubrics that were promoted by Rousseau and present in Rawlsian theory, asserting, “We do not need an extra concept to talk well about this bond, and the concept of ‘people,’ with its vague suggestion of social homogeneity, offers no useful clarification.”¹¹⁴ Instead, using people as the basic unit for conceptualizing a social contract, Nussbaum promotes the pursuit of capabilities for individuals throughout the world.

¹¹¹ Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms*, 147.

¹¹² Martha C. Nussbaum, “Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism,” in *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, ed. Joshua Cohen (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1996), 4.

¹¹³ Martha C. Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press: Harvard University Press, 2006), 250.

¹¹⁴ Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice*, 246.

The capabilities approach promoted by Nussbaum does not pursue “mutual advantage,” but “human fellowship, and human respect, in a more expansive sense.”¹¹⁵ The list of capabilities proposed by Nussbaum includes a bare minimum of rights that will give each individual the potential for a flourishing life. In contrast to mutual advantage, striving for basic capabilities makes the possible attainment of these capabilities a bare minimum. Nussbaum does not pursue mutual advantage because of the historic and ongoing impact that is exerted between borders, but because she recognizes that “self-sufficiency is so far from being true of the world in which we live that it seems most unhelpful.”¹¹⁶ “For such reasons,” Nussbaum asserts, “it is not helpful to regard the basic structures of states as fixed and closed to external influence.”¹¹⁷ Without using the term, explanatory nationalism, Nussbaum identifies the meaning of the concept by arguing that “one cannot simply take the state as given (if one every could), since national sovereignty is under threat from a variety of direction, above all from the influence of multinational corporations and the global economic structure.”¹¹⁸ Regarding the unequal life chances among individuals that are reflected in the HDI of the United Nations, while advocating a capabilities approach centered on persons, not nation-states, Nussbaum affirms that the nation-states into which people are born remain paramount. Though recognizing the inadequacies of Rawls’s adherence to a domestic conceptualization of the original position and veil of ignorance, Nussbaum remains committed to its fundamental principles of Kantian rights and extends it to individuals, no matter where they are born or live. While Rawls extends Kantian rights to individuals within nation-states and then to “peoples,” Nussbaum extends Kantian rights to all individual people simultaneously.

Nussbaum’s cosmopolitan concern for others is based upon a shared humanity rather than a circumscribed concern for those within borders. Nussbaum is unconcerned with Rousseauian sentiments of national consciousness or homogeneity. She does not seek to eliminate nation-states in favor of a single global order. While recognizing something shared among all humanity, she does not seek to

¹¹⁵ Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice*, 270.

¹¹⁶ Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice*, 234.

¹¹⁷ Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice*, 235.

¹¹⁸ Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice*, 258.

eliminate nation-states. Instead, she seeks a new prioritization of allegiances. In this pursuit, Nussbaum asserts, “To be a citizen of the world, one does not, the Stoics stress, need to give up local affiliations, which can be a source of great richness in life. They suggest instead that we think of ourselves as surrounded by a series of concentric circles.”¹¹⁹ Cosmopolitanism does not entail the erasure of national identity, but the prioritizing of global over national identities that recognize “human beings bound to all other human beings by ties of recognition and concern.”¹²⁰

Cosmopolitanism is not universalism or the homogenization of different cultures across the globe, but is the pursuit of universal protection for rights across distinct cultures. Kwame Anthony Appiah contends that if a single global culture existed, the highly valued diversity of cultures within cosmopolitanism would be nonexistent. Instead, he claims that cosmopolitanism seeks “a world in which everyone is a rooted cosmopolitan, attached to a home of his or her own, with its own particularities, but taking pleasure from the presence of other, different, places that are home to other, different, people.”¹²¹ Cosmopolitanism provides an important theoretical outlook towards the world in which situated individuals look past the borders of their community and nation and recognize universal human rights in other cultures and nations.

In addition to developing a global perspective for justice rooted in particular places, cosmopolitan theorists recognize the hybridity of cultures as already existing within distinct communities and nation-states arising through commerce and migration. Seyla Benhabib defines the cosmopolitan belief that “cultures are not homogenous wholes; they are constituted through the narratives and symbolizations of their members, who articulate these in the course of partaking of complex social and significant practices.”¹²² Cosmopolitans recognize Rousseau’s project of promoting a unitary national identity as fictitious, and argue against Rousseau’s attempts to cultivate a sovereign’s strength through the denial of hybridity. Whereas

¹¹⁹ Nussbaum, *Cultivating Humanity: A Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 60.

¹²⁰ Martha C. Nussbaum, *Cultivating Humanity: A Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal Education*, 10.

¹²¹ Kwame Anthony Appiah, “Cosmopolitan Patriots,” in *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, ed. Joshua Cohen (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2002), 22.

¹²² Seyla Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 61.

Nussbaum emphasizes cosmopolitanism as a conscious choice to identify with global humanity from one's particular nation and culture, Jeremy Waldron locates cosmopolitanism within the very cultures and nations we already inhabit. Locating cosmopolitanism within particular cultures is significant not only in reflecting the interconnected nature of the world, but identifying the multiple allegiances and identities already available or existing within and to us. Rather than solidarity across borders arising from conscious choices to be "citizens of the world," universal tendencies are inherent in the complex fabric of culture itself, and cosmopolitanism is, to some extent, something we cannot control. Identifying hybridity and interconnectedness within local cultures and communities, Waldron explains,

One sometimes hears it said that what is important about each culture is its distinctiveness, and that respecting another culture is a matter of cherishing diversity, celebrating difference, focusing attention on those aspects that clearly distinguish it from one's own. That may be a useful educational strategy in, say, elementary schools. When children in the United States have Guatemala Day at school, we do not want them all to make a special ceremony of wearing Levi jeans and drinking Coca-Cola, even if that is what Guatemalans in fact like to wear and drink. In that context, we have reason to highlight the differences between culture in Guatemala and Norteamericano culture.¹²³

While migration is as old as humanity itself, and cultures have never existed in isolated purity, locating cosmopolitanism within culture, as well as the individual, reveals that efforts to decipher distinct cultures are now more complex and nuanced than ever before. The isolated communities that are so integral to the social contract theories of Hobbes, Rousseau, and other Enlightenment thinkers, as well as Rawls, are not only proved to be fictitious by the impact exerted outwards from sovereign nation-states, but also by the hybrid character of the cultures within nation-states.

In addition to the moral arbitrariness of birthright citizenship and the traits, skills, and benefits inherited at birth, such as family and national citizenship, Charles Beitz argues that the distribution of natural resources around the world is also morally arbitrary. Beitz argues that the personal characteristics obscured through the veil of ignorance and natural resources are both morally arbitrary "in the sense that they [both] are not deserved," but he also claims that they are critically different

¹²³ Waldron, "What is Cosmopolitan?," 233.

because “unlike talents, resources are not naturally attached to persons.”¹²⁴ Access to natural resources, according to Beitz, “does not provide a reason why he or she should be entitled to exclude others from the benefits that might be derived from them.”¹²⁵ The veil of ignorance, according to Beitz, should not only obscure knowledge of morally arbitrary traits for individuals but also of access to natural resources. “Not knowing the resource endowments of their own societies,” Beitz asserts, “the parties would agree on a resource redistribution principle that would give each society a fair chance to develop just political institutions and an economy capable of satisfying its members’ basic needs.”¹²⁶ While access to natural resources and their benefits for particular nation-states is as morally arbitrary as the traits individuals inherit at birth, the benefits of natural resources for communities are being further complicated by the ways in which international commerce creates inequalities between the nations, which Northcott identifies as “a subterfuge for war.”¹²⁷ Demonstrated by the international exporting of items ranging from manufactured goods to natural resources, contemporary international commerce involves local resources being cultivated and used not only for local benefit but for global consumption. In addition to the historic instance of potatoes sitting in the docks of Dublin waiting to be exported to England and elsewhere as millions of Irish starved and were forced to migrate, one can instance the way in which African governments are leasing away large tracts of land to foreign nations, and are losing food sovereignty while millions starve.¹²⁸ The interconnected nature of the world enacted in international commerce is exacerbating inequalities between nation-states, and the original position and extension of the veil of ignorance to include the world may allow nation-states to conceptualize a world with equal and just access to resources.

¹²⁴ Charles R. Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 139.

¹²⁵ Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, 138.

¹²⁶ Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, 141.

¹²⁷ Northcott, *A Political Theology of Climate Change*, 214.

¹²⁸ For an examination of land grabs in Africa see, Quentin Gausset, Michael Whyte, “Climate Change and Land Grab in Africa: Resilience for Whom?,” in *Climate Change and Human Mobility; Global Challenges to the Social Sciences*, ed. Kirsten; Karen Fog Olwig Hastrup (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Joseph Carens develops a liberal-egalitarian argument that migration is a human right and that while borders should ideally be open, realistically, they should at least be much more open than they are currently.¹²⁹ Carens compares modern citizenship laws with a feudal system in which life prospects are determined at birth and argues that individuals should be free to move across borders in the same way that they are legally permitted to travel within borders.¹³⁰ Rather than arguing for “justice as fairness” alongside Rawls, Carens seeks to uphold the inviolability of rights for individuals through a contrasting theory of “justice as evenhandedness.”¹³¹ Carens dismisses the necessity of the veil of ignorance and the obfuscation of particular identities for establishing justice, and asserts that the inclusion of particular identities is critical to upholding human rights. Without the philosophical devices proposed by Rawls, the impact of explanatory nationalism can be accounted for and rectified. Rather than obfuscating the disadvantaged position of some nation-states in order to achieve equality, Carens argues that their disadvantaged positions must be addressed in order to achieve justice. This understanding of justice is valuable because like Nussbaum’s notion of cosmopolitanism, it recognizes, what Rawls and other social contract theorists do not, which is the plight of those who are disadvantaged outside the contracting community.

Alongside this conception of justice, Carens argues that migration is a human right by transposing the rights for the freedom of movement within national territories, as established by the UDHR, to the freedom of international migration.¹³² Carens asserts that a “radical disjuncture that treats freedom of movement within the state as a moral imperative and freedom of movement across state borders as merely a matter of political discretion makes no sense from a perspective that takes seriously

¹²⁹ Joseph H. Carens, *Immigrants and the Right to Stay* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010), 36. Joseph H. Carens, “The Rights of Immigrants,” in *Group Rights*, ed. Judith Baker (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 144. Joseph H. Carens, “Migration and Morality: A Liberal Egalitarian Perspective,” in *Free Movement: Ethical Issues in the Transnational Migration of People and of Money*, ed. and Goodin Brian Barry, Robert E. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 25.

¹³⁰ Carens, “The Rights of Immigrants,” 145.

¹³¹ Joseph H. Carens, *Culture, Citizenship, and Community: A Contextual Exploration of Justice as Evenhandedness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 12.

¹³² Carens, “The Rights of Immigrants,” 148, 147. The UNDHR states, “Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State,” in Nations, “Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” Article 13.

the freedom and equality of individuals.”¹³³ Recognizing the arbitrariness of the birthright lottery, Carens compares modern migration and citizenship laws to medieval feudalism, in which life prospects are determined at birth, and argues that it is a violation of human rights to have one’s life chances determined by being fixed in one location.¹³⁴ For Carens, migration laws that limit international movement towards different life prospects are inherently unjust because they impact one’s life chances. Until Carens’s notion of evenhandedness is achieved, he maintains that people should have the right to cross the borders of nation-states as a matter of justice.

Though Carens establishes how open borders value Kantian rights, he only passingly acknowledges how international borders also value rights. According to Carens, barriers to movement may justly exist only when these limitations “promote liberty and equality in the long run or because they are necessary in the long run or because they are necessary to preserve a distinct culture or way life.”¹³⁵ His singular focus on developing the right to migrate across borders fails to address how uninhibited movement would impact traditional sending countries, as well as the poorest of the poor, who are without the resources to migrate.¹³⁶ Michael Walzer compares receiving countries to universities and asserts that “they have to decide on their own size and character.”¹³⁷ Expanding this comparison, if a university had no criteria for acceptance, what would happen to the most and least competitive universities, and similarly, in a borderless world, what would happen to the poorest nations? Carens protects rights in an ideal world, but in the actual world open borders may result in the weakening of countries with developing economies. Brain drain, for example, refers to the migration of highly educated or qualified professionals elsewhere, and has exerted positive impact on receiving countries and negative impact on sending countries.¹³⁸ Another critical question for Carens’s

¹³³ Carens, "The Rights of Immigrants," 147.

¹³⁴ Joseph H. Carens, *The Ethics of Immigration* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), 226.

¹³⁵ Carens, "Migration and Morality: A Liberal Egalitarian Perspective," 25.

¹³⁶ Migration requires resources as cited Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 47.

¹³⁷ Walzer, *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*, 32.

¹³⁸ Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 63.

version of liberal-egalitarianism is: how would the qualities that make migration worthwhile in the first place be maintained in the borderless world he envisions? Placing such a singular emphasis on an individual's right to migrate fails to take into account the positive benefits bestowed by communities, and may even fail to preserve the diversity of cultures existing around the world while also adversely impacting already disadvantaged nation-states. Consideration of the free movement that Carens articulates reveals the complexities of balancing not just the interests and rights of individuals, but of sending and receiving nations as well.

9. Communitarian Responses to Rawls

Whereas liberal-egalitarian and cosmopolitan political theorists prioritize an allegiance to the world over national and local citizenship, communitarians prioritize the preservation of local identity and particular notions of justice. Communitarians provide an important counter to cosmopolitan and liberal-egalitarian claims by emphasizing the importance of local identity. Communitarians refute the possibility of a philosophical veil of ignorance and argue that individuals are rooted in particular cultures that cannot and should not be escaped. Emphasizing the particular identities within the shared narrative, tradition, history, and culture of a community, communitarians argue that the original position and veil of ignorance are ontological impossibilities. Michael Sandel explains that “a self totally detached from its empirically-given features would seem no more than a kind of abstract consciousness (conscious of what?), a radically situated subject given way to a radically disembodied one.”¹³⁹ Detaching oneself from the world in which one is raised and identifies with is not possible for ordinary people, and as Michael Walzer asserts, “Men and women cut loose from all social ties, literally unencumbered, each one the one and only inventor of his or her own life, with no criteria, no common standards, to guide the invention—these are mythical figures.”¹⁴⁰ Communitarians identify an Archimedean point in the cosmopolitan application of Rawlsian concepts that prioritize general humanity against the needs of those who are present within a

¹³⁹ Michael J. Sandel, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 21.

¹⁴⁰ Michael Walzer, *Politics and Passion: Toward a More Egalitarian Liberalism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 146.

community and argue that such a detached viewpoint is not only impossible but undesirable.

While communitarians argue against the Rawlsian philosophical devices of the original position and veil of ignorance, they maintain his focus on the necessity of nation-states. Communitarians recognize the global inequalities that cosmopolitan theorists seek to remedy, but understand nation-states as being the primary mode of addressing and rectifying these inequalities. Against explanatory nationalism, Walzer acknowledges, “the ugliest forms of human degradations now exist in international society,” and “are attributable (in part) to economic policies and practices that have global reach, and they are measurable across state boundaries.”¹⁴¹ Instead of trying “to reproduce liberalism’s domestic success in the international arena” by promoting a cosmopolitan identity that prioritizes the international over the national, Walzer claims that nation-states are integral to achieving and protecting rights.¹⁴² Similarly to Rousseau, Walzer recognizes the importance of national consciousness and shared ways of life among a diverse group of peoples living together as a nation, and argues that the loss of the nation would be undesirable. Walzer does not seek to increase national consciousness like Rousseau, but recognizes it to be naturally at work within a society, and argues that it if were subordinated due to cosmopolitan concerns, it would be a great loss. Against cosmopolitanism, Walzer asserts that “a politics committed to transcending group life, breaking the categories of difference, is likely to be ineffective (there are many examples); and it pretty sure to be nasty and repressive in its own way.”¹⁴³ In contradiction to Nussbaum critique of Rawls’s law of peoples, and in agreement with Rawls, Walzer asserts that it is correct that in “international society we recognize states, not individuals.”¹⁴⁴

Nation-states are critical for Walzer because he recognizes the positive role they play in securing and protecting rights for citizens. While economic liberalism is beneficial in increasing trade and relations between nation-states, as already asserted in relation to Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and Immanuel Kant, it is also capable of exerting negative impact on nation-states. Another criticism Walzer levies against

¹⁴¹ Walzer, *Politics and Passion*, 131

¹⁴² Walzer, *Politics and Passion*, 132.

¹⁴³ Walzer, *Politics and Passion*, 148.

¹⁴⁴ Walzer, *Politics and Passion*, 136.

Nussbaum's emphasis on dealing with individuals in the international realm, is that the state plays the beneficial role of protecting individuals from economic liberalism. Walzer argues that states are "one of the prerequisites of effective distribution," and "in the capitalist world economy they can also provide some protection against freebooting speculators and ruthless entrepreneurs," and "the necessary welfare services in culturally specific ways that reflect the actual pluralism of international society."¹⁴⁵

David Miller defends the communitarian right of nation-states to protect their borders and determine migration law. Miller disagrees with the open borders argument presented by Joseph Carens, but interestingly, his disagreement arises from a similar extension of the birthright lottery undertaken by Carens. Miller extends the birthright lottery to include not only the location of one's birth, but all of life's circumstances, including one's family and talents as well. Miller acknowledges the vast range of benefits provided by the families that people are born into, and argues that the inclusion of every advantage inherited at birth creates an overwhelming consideration of benefits that is nearly impossible to regulate in a liberal society.¹⁴⁶ Rather than arguing for a simple equality, Amartya Sen and Ronald Dworkin each independently argue that "the demands of equality in the different spaces do not coincide with each other precisely because human beings are so diverse," and that "equality in one space goes with substantial inequalities in others."¹⁴⁷ Miller subscribes to such an understanding of justice and argues that instead of searching for "some favoured characteristic X, the equal distribution of which would realize equality," that "individuals enjoy different quantities of X, Y, Z."¹⁴⁸ Miller acknowledges diversity throughout the world and various benefits arising from birthright citizenship, but does not view international migration as an inherent right resulting from this reality. While admitting "there is always *some* value in people having more options to choose between, in this case options as to where to live,"

¹⁴⁵ Walzer, *Politics and Passion*, 136.

¹⁴⁶ David Miller, *Justice for Earthlings: Essays in Political Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 9.

¹⁴⁷ Amartya Sen, *Inequality Reexamined*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). 130. A similar assertion can be found in Ronald Dworkin, *Sovereign Virtue: The Theory and Practice of Equality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 11.

¹⁴⁸ David Miller, "Complex Equality," in *Pluralism, Justice, and Equality*, ed. David Miller, Michael Walzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 198.

Miller claims that “we usually draw a line between *basic* freedoms that people should have as a matter of right and what we might call *bare* freedoms that do not warrant that kind of protection.”¹⁴⁹ According to Miller, the freedom to international migration is a bare freedom that does not warrant protection as a fundamental human right. Instead, it is a benefit charitably distributed by sovereign nation-states, and Miller maintains that the right to emigrate “does not entail an unlimited right to migrate to the society of one’s choice.”¹⁵⁰ Communitarians such as Walzer and Miller preserve the asymmetrical right of migration, which is demonstrated in Miller’s communitarian argument that preserves the rights of communities, and specifically nation-states, to determine the criteria for admittance.¹⁵¹

10. Conclusion

Within this chapter, I have examined the shift of migration from the exercise of a fundamental feature of human existence in the world to a contested political issue that is being used by nation-states to exert sovereignty. By examining issues of migration through the framework of social contract theorists arising before and during the Enlightenment, I have identified underlying issues of the ongoing migration crisis, such as the contradictions of economic liberalism and territorial sovereignty which stretches the asymmetrical right of migration, and the lack of an effective international authority to coordinate global efforts to address migration and the needs of refugees, asylum seekers, and economic migrants. The rigid preservation of closed national territories obfuscates the interconnected nature of the world, and renders the admittance of migrants as a matter of charity, rather than justice. Raising awareness of the interconnected nature of the world and falsity of explanatory nationalism that renders migrants as *ex nihilo* creations suddenly arising at the borders of sovereign nation-states is a critical theme that I will address through scriptural exegesis in Part II of this thesis.

¹⁴⁹ David Miller, "Immigration: The Case for Limits," in *Contemporary debates in applied ethics*, ed. Andrew Cohen and Christopher Heath Wellman (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 194.

¹⁵⁰ Miller, "Immigration: The Case for Limits," 197.

¹⁵¹ In this way, Miller is representative of communitarian arguments. Communitarians seek to protect the cultures of particular communities and defend the right to make decisions of political membership.

After identifying these issues in social contract theory, I engaged John Rawls, and the liberal-egalitarian, cosmopolitan, and communitarian responses his theories have elicited. As is demonstrated by the engagement of contemporary political theorists with Rawls, the original position and veil of ignorance provide theoretical insights into establishing justice, equality, and fairness within society, which also provide insights into the international realm.¹⁵² Liberal-egalitarian, cosmopolitan, and communitarian theorists each address conceptions of borders, communities, and the different ways of prioritizing and balancing the needs of citizens and strangers in the world. Each of these theories provide valuable insights that I engage throughout this thesis, but I ultimately argue that something more than a philosophical outlook toward the nation or world is necessary for providing long term solutions to the issues of migration. Instead of relying on political cosmopolitanism, liberal-egalitarianism, or communitarianism to shape reactions to the migrants arriving at the sovereign borders of receiving nation-states, I develop a theological ethics that accounts for the ways that a particular Christian identity shapes global outlook.

I have also identified the sovereign and commerce as simulacra for God and faith, and in the next chapter I build upon this idea by asserting that the displacement of faith and religion by allegiance to a sovereign has inhibited the cultivation of deeper sources for developing responses to this humanitarian crisis. Within the social contract theories explored, “all significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts,” and thereby become simulacra for God and faith.¹⁵³ In order to address this issue, I turn to the fourfold sense of scripture to utilize scripture as a primary source for developing a theological ethics of migration that is responsive to the ongoing issues of the migration crisis.

¹⁵² In addition to liberal-egalitarian and cosmopolitan arguments for extending Rawlsian principles to the international realm, see Pogge, "Do Rawls's Two Theories of Justice Fit Together?," 206-225.

¹⁵³ Schmitt, *Political Theology; Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, 36.

Chapter 2: Research Methodology, Hermeneutics, and Ethics

1. Introduction

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, after The Peace of Westphalia and during the Enlightenment, nation-states not only claimed authority to decide the friend and enemy distinction to determine citizens, guests, and aliens within territorial borders, but religion and God were supplanted by the sovereign, civil religion, and economic commerce. The conceptions of sovereignty arising from The Peace of Westphalia and the Enlightenment sought to sap God and scripture of the power to shape communities in distinct ways. In this chapter, I seek to reclaim the role of God and the transformative role of scripture for shaping moral action against the nation-state as a simulacra for God and faith, and engage what Charles Taylor labels “the anthropocentric shift,” which placed humanity, and not God, at the center of life.¹ Whereas the previous chapter traced this shift in the political realm and identified how nation-states utilize migration to preserve political and territorial sovereignty, in this chapter, I turn to the fourfold sense of scripture, and particularly, allegory, to provide a hermeneutical strategy for reclaiming the ways God and faith shape action in the world. This methodology helps to enable Christian communities to engage issues of migration as a theological and ethical concern that is central to Christian identity, rather than abandoning it to the nation-state.

In addition to describing the significance of allegory as articulated by Henri de Lubac, I also trace its demise, which lends insight into the actual power of allegory in the face of the modern simulacrum that places the state and not God at the center of life. Indeed, as Henri de Lubac feared, “our major temptation is to make of God a symbol for man, the objectified symbol of himself,” and that “this frightful inversion would carry off all biblical allegory, and faith itself, in a single stroke.”² Allegory is one way to recognize the ways that scripture is relevant to the contemporary world as it challenges readers to interpret themselves in the biblical situation and to discern a hermeneutic that shapes moral life and action in the world

¹ Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 266.

² Henri de Lubac, *Scripture in the Tradition* (New York, NY: Crossroad Publishing, 2000), 70.

today. It also unsettles the sovereignty of nation-states that seek to be the sole source of authority in the life of citizens by giving the Christian community an alternative source to state's totalizing myths of providing redemption in the world. Instead of looking to the state to save us from migrants, the Bible tells us not to be afraid. It not only instructs us to care for others, but to invite them into our communities, and to decipher and learn about the profound truths of the world that result in the creation of migrants in the first place. Rather than migrants being feared as invaders, which in turn strengthens the sovereign's power, scripture gives us an alternative view of how the migrant is to be received, and how Christians are to address the state. I argue that employment of the methodological strategy of the fourfold sense of scripture as articulated by de Lubac provides a valuable source to shape care and concern for aliens and challenge how we interact with the nation-state and determine who is the object of faith and who is a means for a peaceable life in the world.

2. Methodology: An Exegesis of Scripture Using Henri de Lubac

Through an exegesis of scripture that incorporates the fourfold sense identified by Henri de Lubac, this thesis develops a theological ethics of migration that draws upon scripture and tradition and is responsive to the current migration crisis. I argue that migration and the care extended to migrants is critical to the identity of Christians, and that by applying the fourfold sense of scripture, with particular attention to allegory, to scriptural instances of migration and care extended towards others, the Church can reclaim migration as a theological and ethical concern. Rather than abandoning issues of migration to the nation-state, this methodological strategy recognizes scripture as an empowering source that can inform the moral action of Christians in the public realm. In particular, I argue that the intergenerational biblical memory of the Hebrews, of Christ Himself, and of the early Christians as wanderers and aliens challenges Christian communities to extend aid and hospitality to legal wanderers and aliens and to advocate for legal and sociopolitical changes to improve their reception in the nations to which they travel. Alongside de Lubac, I assert that reclaiming allegory as a valid exegetical methodology helps communities to understand themselves as a part of the narrative

of the way of the people of God in history and to engage sociopolitical and economic issues by being a prophetic witness in the world.

The fourfold sense of scripture advocated by de Lubac integrates the literal and spiritual senses of scripture, and through allegory empowers communities to interpret scripture in light of tradition, current circumstances, and eschatological hope to inform contemporary moral action. De Lubac addressed the contributions of scripture for contemporary life, asserting,

The Bible was not preserved merely as a major document, like archives containing a few titles of nobility or miraculous predictions: it was still truly the whole Scripture, the living Word of God—without, nevertheless, remaining like a code. Everything in it is still addressed to us, is still of value to us, even now, because everything in it is understood according to the unique Intention that is manifested in it from the very beginning, as the apostle Paul taught Timothy: ‘The end of the law is charity coming from a pure heart and a sincere faith.’ Scripture is the Book of today just as of yesterday. Each day it nourishes Christ’s faithful with its eternal substance.³

Reclaiming the fourfold sense of scripture within patristic and medieval exegesis, de Lubac argued that scripture has a dynamism that can be uncovered by faith communities when interpreted according to the fourfold sense. When discovered, this dynamism enables communities to situate themselves as actors and participants in the unfolding of scriptural narrative.⁴

The fourfold sense of scripture in patristic and medieval exegesis, and identified and reclaimed by de Lubac, consists of history, allegory, tropology, and anagogy. De Lubac summarized the fourfold sense with the medieval doctrine, “The letter teaches what took place, the allegory what to believe, the moral what to do, the anagogy what goal to strive for.”⁵ De Lubac first located the literal, or historical and factual sense, and then the spiritual sense within scripture, arguing that within “Scripture itself, one professes that there is no dissociation of the two senses. The

³ Henri de Lubac, *History and Spirit; The Understanding of Scripture according to Origen*, trans. Anne Englund Nash (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2007), 58.

⁴ The dynamism of faith is not simply a reference to the dynamic nature of scripture but the resultant movement within individuals as they respond to scripture and turn toward God, in Henri de Lubac, *The Christian Faith; An Essay on the Structure of the Apostles' Creed*, trans. Brother Richard Arnandez (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 1986), 293.

⁵ Henri de Lubac, *Theological Fragments*, trans. Rebecca Howell Balinski (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 1989), 109.

spirit does not exist without the letter, nor is the letter devoid of the spirit.”⁶ De Lubac then further identified allegory, tropology, and anagogy as comprising the spiritual sense. Just as the literal and spiritual senses are necessarily interdependent upon one another, each of the four senses exists in “dynamic continuity” with the other senses and is crucial for the integrity of the Biblical message.⁷

De Lubac argued that allegory is a legitimate hermeneutical method based on the Apostle Paul’s allegorical interpretations of the Hebrew Bible, and specifically Paul’s interpretations of Abraham’s wife Sarah and her maidservant Hagar, and their sons, Isaac and Ishmael, as representing two covenants in the Epistle to the Galatians.⁸ The Apostle Paul writes to the churches in Galatia,

For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave woman and the other by a free woman. One, the child of the slave, was born according to the flesh; the other, the child of the free woman, was born through the promise. Now this is an allegory: these two women are covenants (Gal. 4:22-24).

De Lubac did not dismiss the historical, or literal sense of scripture in favor of the other senses, but insisted that scripture is an account of actual events that happened.⁹ Just as Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar, and their children Isaac and Ishmael are each historical people documented by the Hebrew Bible, the Old and New Covenants they allegorically represent are part of that same history. Through allegory, scripture is interpreted in light of the overarching metanarrative of Christ and God’s purposes revealed through him.¹⁰ For de Lubac, the significance discovered through allegorical interpretations of historical events are not written into the narratives of these events, but are present within those historical events.¹¹

De Lubac asserted that the allegorical interpretations of patristic and medieval exegesis sought to continue Paul’s practice of uncovering “the mysteries of Christ and the Church as prefigured in Scripture,” which meant that “the allegorical

⁶ Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis, Vol. 2, The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. E.M. Macierowski (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2000), 26.

⁷ de Lubac, *Theological Fragments*, 117.

⁸ de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis, Vol. 2, The Four Senses of Scripture*, 4, 129. de Lubac, *History and Spirit; The Understanding of Scripture according to Origen*, 437.

⁹ de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis, Vol. 2, The Four Senses of Scripture*, 44.

¹⁰ Kevin Storer, *Reading Scripture to Hear God; Kevin Vanhoozer and Henri de Lubac on God’s Use of Scripture in the Economy of Redemption* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2014), 35.

¹¹ de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis, Vol. 2, The Four Senses of Scripture*, 86.

sense was thus par excellence the dogmatic sense, rooted in history.”¹² Allegory does not abolish or supersede the Hebrew Bible but seeks “a new deeper significance and fulfillment by Christ that is expressed allegorically.”¹³ Allegory integrates the historical and spiritual senses of scripture through Jesus Christ, whose crucifixion and resurrection is also a historical event. De Lubac argued that Paul’s practice of interpreting the history documented in the Hebrew Bible through the history of the New Testament, and most importantly, through Jesus Christ, reveals how Jesus Christ and the grace of God is omnipresent throughout scripture.¹⁴ Within the historical events narrated in scripture, the fourfold sense recognizes Christ as “both exegete and exegesis,” and revealed throughout scripture.¹⁵ As David Grumett describes it, “This perspective of completion rather than supersession is especially significant for Christian understanding of Hebrew Scripture, in which de Lubac finds a vast store of allegory which points to Christ and is completed and understood in him.”¹⁶ Allegorical interpretations recognize “the omnipresence of Christ” throughout scripture and identify the Church’s role in revealing Christ throughout history and into the future.¹⁷

Tropology and anagogy express the impact of the fourfold sense of scripture on everyday life by addressing the present and future implications discovered through allegory. Tropology, according to de Lubac, is the “moral dimension” in which individuals are instructed by the “spirit of the Gospel” in the present life.¹⁸ Reflecting on the ethical implications arising through allegory, Grumett succinctly describes tropology “as the translation of allegory into principles with consequences for concrete reality.”¹⁹ The theological insights developed through allegory shape the moral demands of our present life during the “interim” between Christ’s first and

¹² de Lubac, *History and Spirit; The Understanding of Scripture according to Origen*, 437.

¹³ David Grumett, *De Lubac: A Guide for the Perplexed*, Guides for the Perplexed (London: T & T Clark, 2007), 83.

¹⁴ de Lubac, *Scripture in the Tradition*, 35.

¹⁵ Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Theology of Henri de Lubac: An Overview*, Communio Books (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 1991), 79.

¹⁶ Grumett, *De Lubac: A Guide for the Perplexed*, 84.

¹⁷ Bryan C. Hollon, *Everything is Sacred; Spiritual Exegesis in the Political Theology of Henri de Lubac* (Cambridge: James Clarke & co., 2010), 169.

¹⁸ de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis, Vol. 2, The Four Senses of Scripture*, 129.

¹⁹ Grumett, *De Lubac: A Guide for the Perplexed*, 88.

second coming, while anagogy expresses their eschatological fulfillment.²⁰ As de Lubac described, “Allegory and tropology, after having deepened and extended history, are fulfilled when they unite in anagogy.”²¹ The fourfold sense of scripture understands the Church as existing in a line of continuity stretching throughout history, while also accounting for the ways the Church moves towards an eschatological hope that is enacted in the present through moral action.

A significant advantage of utilizing allegory as a hermeneutical method is that it avoids fundamentalist interpretations of scripture. As demonstrated by the historical and personal appeals to scripture I will identify in Part II, scripture transcends the particular time and place of its authorship, and is a source for contemporary ethics. Oliver O’Donovan identifies a “political hermeneutic” in scripture that is “discovered and explored in a particular context of discipleship; yet it does not belong only to that context, nor is it the context that imposes it in the first place.”²² O’Donovan cites that scripture presents “a train of moral thought...from some A to some B,” that cannot be simply transposed from its original context to a contemporary dilemma, such as X and Y.²³ Rather than advocating a straightforward mapping of biblical morals and lessons in their original context to the present world, O’Donovan stresses that attention must be devoted to discerning the moral intricacies and complexities that are present in each situation. “Obeying the text’s authority,” according to O’Donovan, “is not simply a matter of taking up the *conclusions* which its thought has reached, as in the formula $A \rightarrow B \rightarrow Y$, a literalism that short-cuts the task of obedient thought, $X \rightarrow Y$.”²⁴ Instead, a “political hermeneutic” must be discerned within scripture that shapes the ways individuals navigate contemporary issues and remain faithful to scripture. Just as scripture cannot become subservient to modern values, moral behavior that is in line with scripture “cannot merely

²⁰ de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis, Vol. 2, The Four Senses of Scripture*, 183.

²¹ de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis, Vol. 2, The Four Senses of Scripture*, 181. de Lubac, *Theological Fragments*, 118.

²² Oliver O’Donovan, *The Desire of the Nations: Rediscovering the Roots of Political Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 21.

²³ Oliver O’Donovan, *Self, World, and Time; Ethics as Theology*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2013), 79.

²⁴ O’Donovan, *Self, World, and Time; Ethics as Theology*, 1, 79.

accommodate biblical modes of life and thought to modern ones.”²⁵ Interpreting scripture as a foundational source for Christian ethics entails more than the memorization of verses, but seeks a particular posture towards the world that is gained through the identification and exercise of a “political hermeneutic.” Carolyn Osiek identifies how allegory prevents fundamentalism, while also suggesting contemporary adaptations, explaining,

Allegory was the patristic and medieval way of avoiding literalism and fundamentalism. Today, historical criticism plays that role in part. If today we are uncomfortable with some of the ways in which previous generations used allegory, perhaps we need to come to a new understanding of how metaphor, imagery, and even allegory continue to inform the very heart of biblical interpretation in its arena of greatest use, the worshiping community.²⁶

Allegory identifies timeless theological meanings within particular historical events to inform and guide humanity in confronting contemporary ethical decisions. The tropological outcomes arising from allegory do not imply the mere mapping of $A \rightarrow B$ onto $X \rightarrow Y$, but the recognition of theological insights that guide humanity in navigating life decisions in accordance with theological truths revealed throughout scripture. Allegory does not dismiss the historical complexities within the scriptural context of particular events, but discerns theological truths in historical facts and provides an “intensification of those facts by drawing out their implications for current life.”²⁷ According to de Lubac, patristic allegory is located within the very history it illuminates, yet always recounts theological truths that are Christological and inform the lives of Christians in the world through tropology.

In Part II of this thesis, I engage four instances of biblical migration that I will show to be paradigmatic of migration throughout scripture and instructive for shaping moral action towards migrants today. In each of these chapters, I examine the allegorical interpretations of patristic and medieval exegesis alongside contemporary engagement of those biblical passages in order to identify issues

²⁵ Thomas W. Ogletree, *The Use of the Bible in Christian Ethics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), 12.

²⁶ Carolyn Osiek, “Catholic or catholic? Biblical Scholarship at the Center,” in *Presidential Voices; The Society of Biblical Literature in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Harold W. Attridge, James C. VanderKam (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 339.

²⁷ Grumett, *De Lubac: A Guide for the Perplexed*, 83.

surrounding migration, and reveal how the hospitable reception of migrants is shaped by an acknowledgment of some of the reasons why they migrate in the first place. These surrounding issues shape the moral intricacies and complexities of welcoming migrants. While transposing $A \rightarrow B$ may be effective in determining how to receive migrants in some situations, doing the work of exploring “why” in the original context of scripture lends weight and force to $X \rightarrow Y$ that makes it applicable in other situations. Through allegory, I seek to engage some of the issues surrounding migration in the biblical context, to discern the moral intricacies and complexities that shape the hospitable reception of migrants.

3. The Demise of Allegory: The Reformation and the Enlightenment

Allegory, and the fourfold sense of scripture, was an accepted hermeneutical strategy within patristic and medieval exegesis, but was disparaged by Luther and Calvin during the Reformation. Luther warned that “an interpreter must as much as possible avoid allegory, so that he may not wander in idle dreams,” and claimed that “allegories are empty speculations, and as it were the scum of holy scripture.”²⁸ Calvin also vehemently discredited allegory as a hermeneutical strategy, and asserted that he “might easily find the means of tearing up this fiction by the roots.”²⁹ Addressing allegorical interpretations of the parable of the Good Samaritan, Calvin proclaimed, “None of these strikes me as plausible: we should have more reverence for Scripture than to allow ourselves to transfigure its sense so freely,” and that “anyone may see that these speculations have been cooked up by meddlers, quite divorced from the mind of Christ.”³⁰ While Luther urged his students “to beware of allegory” and Calvin refuted its use, in actual practice Luther and Calvin both allegorically interpreted scripture in particular instances. As I demonstrate in Chapter 6, Luther allegorically interpreted the parable of the Good Samaritan and affirmed the patristic interpretations that identified the Good Samaritan as Jesus Christ and the

²⁸ Brian Cummings is here quoting Luther in Brian Cummings, “Protestant Allegory,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory*, ed. Rita Copeland, Peter T. Struck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 177.

²⁹ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 2008), 211.

³⁰ John Calvin, ed. *A Harmony of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark and Luke*, vol. III, Calvin's Commentaries (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1972), 39.

wounded traveler as humanity in need of Christ. Additionally, Luther and Calvin both allegorically interpreted the Babylonian exile to express Reformation concerns.³¹

Evident within these contradictory statements and practices is the way Luther and Calvin prioritized historical and literal readings of scripture over allegory.³² As already demonstrated, despite harsh criticism of allegory, Luther did not altogether dismiss allegory as a valid hermeneutical strategy. Instead, he insisted that it could not be the primary strategy for interpretation and that it was incapable of settling theological controversies.³³ Owing to the possibility of varying interpretations of allegory, Luther, as well as Calvin, favored the historical or literal sense. While Calvin's humanist training taught him to seek "a direct understanding of the intentions and meanings of legal texts," this did not imply a total rejection of allegory on his part.³⁴ Despite the fierce rejections of allegory already cited, Calvin elsewhere warranted its use, so long as they were "carried no further than Scripture expressly sanctions: so far are they from forming a sufficient basis to found doctrines upon."³⁵ The attention that Luther and Calvin devoted to the historical and literal sense of scripture ensured that allegory would not spawn an infinite number of meanings that were detached from the original context of scripture.

According to Hans Frei, "The Protestant Reformers had said that the Bible is self-interpreting, the literal sense of its words being their true meaning, its more obscure passages to be read in the light of those that are clear."³⁶ Adhering to the Reformation theme of *sola scriptura*, Luther and Calvin asserted that tradition could

³¹ Adrian Hastings, "Christianity and Nationhood: Congruity or Antipathy?," *Journal of Religious History* 25, no. 3 (2001): 259.

³² Scott H. Hendrix, "Luther Against the Background of the History of Biblical Interpretation," *Interpretation* 37 (3) (1983): 229. James Barr asserts the same, "Now allegories are not always forbidden by Luther: once can still have them, but first you have to have the 'history', it is the foundation, and 'otherwise an allegory is only pernicious and produces only errors'; the allegory must never be the foundation," in James Barr, "The Literal, the Allegorical, and Modern Biblical Scholarship," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 44 (1989): 4.

³³ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Luther the Expositor; Introduction to the Reformer's Exegetical Writings*, Luther's Works (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), 80.

³⁴ Donald K. McKim, "Calvin's View of Scripture," in *Readings in Calvin's Theology*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1984), 49.

³⁵ Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 2.5.19: 211.

³⁶ Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974), 18.

not be used to prioritize some interpretations over others, but *scripture alone* should discern the meaning of scripture.³⁷ Luther and Calvin, therefore, dismissed allegory when its interpretations were deemed “out of context,” and as Scott Hendrix describes, Luther “shied away from allegories unless they were in the text or unless the meaning of allegory could be found elsewhere in Scripture.”³⁸ As demonstrated by Luther and Calvin’s allegorical interpretations of particular biblical passages, “Luther, Calvin, and their contemporaries did not simply trade allegory for literal interpretation.”³⁹ Instead, they utilized different tools of exegesis, and in this way, Thomas Torrance described Calvin’s way of reading scripture as “modern.”⁴⁰ Calvin did not approach the investigation of scripture using only the tools of modern science, but maintained belief in the Holy Spirit working throughout scripture.⁴¹ While Luther and Calvin devoted primary effort to the historical and literal interpretation of scripture, they “then proceeded to find various figures and levels of meaning, indicating *credenda*, *agenda*, and *speranda* embedded in the letter itself,” which as Richard Muller remarks, “seems suspiciously familiar.”⁴²

Despite the employment of patristic and medieval allegory so long as it met certain conditions, Luther and Calvin signaled a clear departure from patristic and medieval theologians through their division between the private and public realms. Preceding the Westphalian emphasis for a secular sovereign, the Hobbesian displacement of religion from faith in God to the sovereign, and Rousseau’s division between the public and private realms to garner strength for the sovereign through civil religion, the Reformation initiated a shift of another, but related, sort. Luther

³⁷ Jaroslav Pelikan, Valerie R. Hotchkiss, David Price, *The Reformation of the Bible: The Bible of the Reformation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 27.

³⁸ Jack L. Thompson, “Calvin as Biblical Interpreter,” in *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 68; Hendrix, “Luther Against the Background of the History of Biblical Interpretation,” 231.

³⁹ Richard A. Muller, “Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation: The View from the Middle Ages,” in *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation; Essays Presented to David C. Steinmetz in Honor of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Richard A. Muller, John Thompson (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1996), 12.

⁴⁰ Thomas F. Torrance, *The Hermeneutics of John Calvin* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1988), 72.

⁴¹ Torrance, *The Hermeneutics of John Calvin*, 77, 132.

⁴² Muller, “Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation: The View from the Middle Ages,” 11, 12.

and Calvin recognized the necessity for a civil government to maintain order in the public realm, and instituted a distinction between the secular realm of the ruling authority and the personal realm of faith. Foreshadowing the dangerous Hobbesian state of nature, Luther argued for the necessity of a secular ruling authority by describing its absence, claiming

If there were [no laws and government], then seeing that all the world is evil and that scarcely one human being in a thousand is a true Christian, people would devour each other and no one would be able to support his wife and children, feed himself and serve God. And so to try to rule a whole country or the world by means of the Gospel is like herding together wolves, lions, eagles and sheep in the same pen, letting them mix freely, and saying to them: feed, and be just and peaceable; the stable isn't locked, there's plenty of pasture, and you have no dogs or cudgels to be afraid of. The sheep would certainly keep the peace and let themselves be governed and pastured peaceably, but they would not live long.⁴³

Luther identified the necessity of a secular ruling authority to maintain peace among diverse individuals, and subsequently sought to carve out space where faith could be protected from the necessary authority granted to the ruling sovereign. Whereas Rousseau imposed a division between the public and private to mitigate the ability of faith to disrupt the authority of the ruling sovereign, Luther and Calvin sought to preserve faith against the sovereign they viewed as being necessary for peace among a diverse populace.

Seeking to counter the necessary authority of the secular political sovereign, Luther preserved the soul as the private realm that could not be infringed upon by the political ruling power. Luther equated a distinction between the body and spirit with the authority of the state and church, claiming, "Secular government has laws that extend no further than the body, goods and outward, earthly matters. But where the soul is concerned, God neither can nor will allow anyone but himself to rule."⁴⁴ While Luther sought to defend the soul as the sole responsibility of religion and the Church, in a twist of tragic irony, these divisions would circumscribe religion to this

⁴³ Martin Luther, "On Secular Authority," in *Luther and Calvin on Secular Authority*, ed. Harro Höpfl, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 10, 11.

⁴⁴ Luther, "On Secular Authority," 23.

private realm.⁴⁵ According to Brad Gregory, “although Luther sought to curtail tyrannical domination by either secular or ecclesiastical authorities over souls, in fact his solution implicitly theorized the control of human bodies *and thus human beings* by secular authorities.”⁴⁶ As I addressed in the previous chapter, social contract theorists arising before and during the Enlightenment deepened the division of realms, but unlike Luther, they displaced God’s role in the public realm by seeking to strengthen the sovereign. Calvin also confirmed divisions between the body and soul, and made corresponding distinctions between the state and church, claiming, “But he who knows to distinguish between the body and the soul, between the present fleeting life and that which is future and eternal, will have no difficulty in understanding that the spiritual kingdom of Christ and civil government are things very widely separated.”⁴⁷

As Luther and Calvin argued for divisions between the church and state, and soul and body, they initiated a collapse between divisions that hallowed the sacred over the secular within the life of the church, laity, and world.⁴⁸ Whereas medieval monastic life withdrew from everyday activities such as commerce and hallowed particular sites as sacred and medieval theologians upheld distinctions between the sacred and the secular, Luther and Calvin viewed the entire world as a possible site for the sacred.⁴⁹ T.J. Gorringer, for instance, references Thomas à Kempis’s claim that “unless a man has disentangled himself from all things created, he will not be free to make the things of God” as being a “representative view” of medieval theology.⁵⁰ Gorringer cites monastic vows taken by the clergy, the celebration of the Eucharist being reserved for the sacred space of the church, and the fact that “the chancel and altar area were increasingly fenced off from the mundane world” within

⁴⁵ Without reference to the reformers or the Reformation, William Cavanaugh describes the consequences of circumscribing the concerns of the church to the spiritual realm and argues that the Church must exercise concern within the public or political realm as well. See, William T. Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist: Theology, Politics, and the Body of Christ*, Challenges in Contemporary Theology (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).

⁴⁶ Brad S. Gregory, *The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2012), 140.

⁴⁷ Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 4.20.1: 970.

⁴⁸ Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 266.

⁴⁹ T.J. Gorringer, *A Theology of the Built Environment; Justice, Empowerment, Redemption* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 10.

⁵⁰ Gorringer, *A Theology of the Built Environment*, 10.

medieval theology and religious life as representing the medieval distinctions between the secular and sacred, and the privileging of the sacred over the secular.⁵¹ Luther and Calvin challenged medieval distinctions between the sacred and secular through doctrines such as the priesthood of all believers and asserted people's ability to encounter and worship God not just in church, but in home life and work as well.⁵² Gorringer argued that "the two tier, sacred and secular, division of work was one of the first casualties," and that after the Reformation, hard work in any profession could be a Godly calling.⁵³ While the medieval tradition upheld the sacredness of pilgrimage sites, for example, the reformers' emphasis upon the Word of God resulted in a suspicion of sacred space.⁵⁴ Rudolph Bultmann described Luther's view, asserting, "Luther has taught us that there are no holy places in the world, that the world as a whole is indeed a profane place."⁵⁵ It is not geographical space itself that is especially holy, but rather its function as a place in which the worshipping community gathers to participate in the Sacraments and the Word of God proclaimed and received.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Gorringer, *A Theology of the Built Environment*, 10.

⁵² Calvin acknowledges that God "enjoins common prayer," which occurs in churches, but also warns against practices that "commenced some centuries ago" of seeing them as a holier and better place to communicate with God in Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 3.20.30: 589.

⁵³ Timothy J. Gorringer, *Capital and the Kingdom; Theological Ethics and Economic Order* (1994: Orbis Books, 1994), 65. David Power describes Luther's understanding of work and the priesthood of all believers, stating, "Some are called to ministry, some to rule, others to do more ordinary tasks. By meeting these duties, one lives out the common priesthood or kingship that comes from Christ, through baptism and the Spirit," in David Noel Power, *Mission, Ministry, Order; Reading the Tradition in the Present Context* (New York, NY: Continuum, 2008), 226.

⁵⁴ David Brown contends, "The worry is a common one, particularly in Protestant theology. At most it is people who make places sacred, we are told, not the sites themselves," in David Brown, *God and Enchantment of Place; Reclaiming Human Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 154.

⁵⁵ Rudolph Bultmann as quoted by Philip Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred; Place, Memory, and Identity* (London: SCM Press, 2001), 62.

⁵⁶ Bernhard Lohse, *Martin Luther's Theology; Its Historical and Systematic Development*, trans. Roy A. Harrisville (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 277. Rowan Williams does not discount holy places, but highlights a concern similar to the reformers, stating, "they are not places whose structure and function can be understood apart from the reality of a community (which is where they differ from pagan temples, ancient and modern). They are for Christian persons assembled..." in Rowan Williams, *Open to Judgment; Sermons and Addresses* (London: Darton, Longman, and Todd Ltd., 2014), 103.

Divisions between the private and public realms, and the ensuing collapse of the sacred into the secular, represents the groundwork of the “anthropocentric shift” that was solidified in the Enlightenment and made evident in historical criticism.⁵⁷ Charles Taylor identifies the shift of sacred life from the isolation of the medieval monastery to the secular world in the “anthropocentric shift” which focused on hard work and human endeavors that initiated “the eclipse of grace” and disenchantment of the world by hallowing everyday life and actions.⁵⁸ Taylor identifies the hallowing of everyday life as a site for the sacred during the Reformation, claiming,

But this doesn’t come about in the manner of the Catholic tradition, but connecting it to the sacramental life of the church; rather it comes about within this life itself, which has to be lived in a way which is both earnest and detached. Marriage and calling are not optional extras; they are the substances of life, and we should throw ourselves into them purposefully.⁵⁹

While Luther and Calvin maintained divisions between the public and private realms for the secular ruling authority, for individuals they recognized every action as participation in the spiritual life, and differentiated realms for faith and the secular were nonexistent. This collapse of the secular into the sacred, alongside an inverse separation between church and state, created conditions for modern secularism to arise.⁶⁰ The division of realms and the collapse of medieval notions of the sacred and secular resulted in what Gregory labels the “unintended reformation,” and created the fertile ground in which Enlightenment themes and historical criticism emerged.⁶¹ Gregory wonders “what would happen if churches and families, precisely because awash no longer in a sea of faith but plunged into an ocean of capitalism, consumerism, advertising, self-interest, and popular culture, failed any longer to generate virtues conducive to the flourishing of a democratic society?”⁶² Gregory’s answer, along with Taylor’s, is that the church is displaced by the state. The vacating

⁵⁷ Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 266.

⁵⁸ Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 222-224.

⁵⁹ Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 223.

⁶⁰ For a tracing of modern atheism in the eighteenth century, see Alister McGrath, *The Twilight of Atheism: The Rise and Fall of Disbelief in the Modern World* (London: Rider, 2004), 220-224.

⁶¹ Gregory, *The Unintended Reformation*.

⁶² Gregory, *The Unintended Reformation*, 174.

of faith from the public realm does not create the emergence of a “public” but the power of the “state.” The state emerged as the arbiter of society that was inundated with competing interests and multifarious factions. Though “unintended” and still almost a century away, the division of realms between the private and the public for the secular ruling authority and the collapse of the realms for individuals resulted in the emergence of the sovereign and commerce as simulacra for God and faith during the Enlightenment.

4. An Apologetics for Using Scripture in Ethics

Before asserting the benefits of reclaiming allegory and the fourfold sense of scripture against the anthropocentric shift that began in the Reformation and was solidified during the Enlightenment, this section addresses the broader issue of using scripture in ethics. Against the displacement of communitarian sources, such as scripture and tradition during the Enlightenment, I propose a return to scripture as a source for ethics. In contrast to the search for universal values derived from human intellect and objective reason during the Enlightenment, Hans-Georg Gadamer argued that “absolute reason is not a possibility for historical humanity,” and that “reason existed only in concrete, historical terms—i.e., it is not its own master but remains constantly dependent on the given circumstances in which it operates.”⁶³ In contrast to the Enlightenment’s aim of developing a modern understanding of the world purely through human intellect, I argue that the Bible provides a fundamental source for Christians to determine contemporary moral action.

Turning to scripture as a source for formulating an ethical viewpoint or theory to guide moral action in the world is not a strategy limited to theological ethics. As Daniel Millers puts it, “The concepts and language found in scripture have contributed to the shape and development of moral discourse in the West in ways that simply cannot be overlooked.”⁶⁴ The Bible provides a common frame of reference for Christians in approaching moral questions, and “given the role of the

⁶³ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, Second, Revised ed. (London: Continuum, 2004), 278. This point supported by Kevin J. Vanhoozer, “Scripture and Tradition,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Postmodern Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 152-153.

⁶⁴ Daniel K. Miller, *Animal Ethics and Theology: The Lens of the Good Samaritan* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 11.

Bible in Western civilization, almost any of our moral notions will reflect its impact in some fashion.”⁶⁵ Thus contemporary political philosophers Michael Walzer and Jeremy Waldron both utilize the parable of the Good Samaritan in their formulation of policies regarding the extension of aid to neighbors, and Bonnie Honig and Julie Kristeva utilize Ruth as a case study for foreign leadership and issues of integration within nation-states.⁶⁶ In these instances, however, scripture is utilized as a frame of reference, rather than a source informing moral action in the world. In contrast to this universal appeal to scripture, I turn to scripture because of its power to shape moral action. In Part II, I do not seek to use scripture in a cosmopolitan way that strips it of its unique character of seeking faith in God, but argue that this communitarian source can shape a cosmopolitan treatment of migrants. Through my engagement with instances of biblical migration and hospitality to strangers in Chapters 4 through 7, I explore how the Bible’s treatment of migrants shapes cosmopolitan concerns.

Sovereignty in the Westphalian and Enlightenment tradition sought peace and allegiance by restricting particular affinities, practices, and traditions to the private realm, and encouraging universal interests in the public realm. Describing the universal aims of modern liberalism, Alasdair MacIntyre asserts, “Hence a rational morality will lay down principles which both can and ought to be held by *all* men, independent of circumstances and conditions, and which could consistently be obeyed by every rational agent on every occasion.”⁶⁷ The Enlightenment’s search for common ground among humanity meant that religion, which was highly meaningful for individuals and shaped people not according to the desires of the sovereign but God, was understood to be “more likely to instigate conflict and sedition than to

⁶⁵ Ogletree, *The Use of the Bible in Christian Ethics*, 5.

⁶⁶ Walzer, *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*. Jeremy Waldron, "Who Is My Neighbor?: Humanity and Proximity," *The Monist* Vol. 86, no. No. 3 (July 2003). Bonnie Honig, "Ruth, The Model Emigrée: Mourning and the Symbolic Politics of Immigration," in *Ruth and Esther; A Feminist Companion to the Bible*, ed. Athalya Brenner (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999). Bonnie Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 45. Julia Kristeva, *Nations Without Nationalism*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1993), 23.

⁶⁷ Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (London: Duckworth, 1985), 45.

quell discord.”⁶⁸ Communitarian sources, such as faith and scripture, which were not universally shared were limited to the private realm, and as Jon Levenson argues,

In spite of its inequities, the great strength of the new arrangement that first emerged in the Enlightenment is that it allows for the maintenance of civility even in the presence of incompatible worldviews. By privatizing religions, restricting it to voluntary associations and the inner recesses of the individual heart, the new order permitted the emergence of a public space neither dominated nor even defined, at least in theory, by any of the clashing factors.⁶⁹

Recalling communitarian objections to the “mythical figures” sought in Rawls’s original position and veil of ignorance, I argue that moral action in the public realm cannot be detached from the ways individuals are shaped in the private realm.⁷⁰ In agreement with Seyla Benhabib, I argue that concerns for universal humanity do not require “committing oneself to the metaphysical illusions of the Enlightenment,” which entails a distancing from the sources that shape us and the communities from which we come.⁷¹ I contend that scripture is vital to the identity of Christians, and is, therefore, critical to shaping the ways Christians understand and act in the world. While scripture is a communitarian source in that it is not universally shared amongst humanity, through the fourfold sense of scripture, and with particular attention to allegory, I argue that moral action towards universal humanity within and across all divisions is asserted. Against Rousseau and Rawls, I claim that the deeply personal ways in which individuals are shaped cannot be set aside because as Benhabib argues,

The Enlightenment conception of the disembodied cogito no less than the empiricist illusion of a substance-like self cannot do justice to those contingent processes of socialization through which an infant becomes a person, acquires language and reason, develops a sense of justice and autonomy, and becomes capable of projecting a narrative into the world of which she is not only the author but the actor as well.⁷²

⁶⁸ Robin Douglass, *Rousseau and Hobbes; Nature, Free Will, and the Passions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 147.

⁶⁹ Jon D. Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and historical criticism; Jews and Christians in biblical studies* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 118.

⁷⁰ Walzer, *Politics and Passion: Toward a More Egalitarian Liberalism*, 146.

⁷¹ Seyla Benhabib, *Situating the Self: Gender, Community, and Postmodernism in Contemporary Ethics* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1992), 4.

⁷² Benhabib, *Situating the Self*, 5.

While recognizing diversity throughout the world and within particular nation-states, I argue that drawing upon communitarian sources such as scripture does not limit interactions with others, but shapes cosmopolitan concerns, and that concern and care for others within and outside borders of any sort can be discovered within Christian theology and scripture. As evidenced in the normative ethical claims developed in Part II of this thesis, scripture and theology inform a moral action towards aliens that is unconcerned with the boundaries of nation-states.

Utilizing these sources challenges the nation-state and the means it uses to garner authority through nationalism, civil religion, and commerce. By reclaiming scripture as a source for developing a theological ethics of migration, I am inherently questioning Westphalian and Enlightenment notions of the sovereign and commerce as simulacra for God and faith. Adrian Hastings claimed,

If nationalism was the blight of Christianity for centuries and remained so through most of the twentieth, it could be that a false universalism is now an even greater threat, a succumbing to the globalization, economic, cultural, and political, sweeping the world under the pressure of capitalism and American military dominance.⁷³

As I will demonstrate in Part II of this thesis, where I engage significant allegorical interpretations of instances of scripture that address migration or the extension of hospitality, scripture challenges individuals and communities to question priorities of identity. Referencing the Pentecost event, Hastings demonstrates the tension between the local or particular and the global or universal, arguing that

on the one side, it affirmed the universal relevance of the gospel message, leaping every language barrier to reach ‘every nation under heaven,’ but on the other hand its message was that Parthians, Medes and Elamites, Cretans, Arabs and the rest could hear ‘the marvels of God,’ each in ‘his own language (Acts 2:5-11).’⁷⁴

Rather than blurring or erasing differences between individuals, Christianity embraces those differences and as Augustine recognized, Christians can live in any nation and culture.⁷⁵ As John Milbank points out, Christianity “pursued from the

⁷³ Hastings, "Christianity and Nationhood: Congruity or Antipathy?," 259.

⁷⁴ Hastings, "Christianity and Nationhood: Congruity or Antipathy?," 249.

⁷⁵ Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, ed. R. W. Dyson, trans. R. W. Dyson, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), XIX.17: 946.

outset a universalism which tried to subsume rather than merely abolish difference: Christians could remain in their many different cities, languages and cultures, yet still belong to one eternal city ruled by Christ, in whom all ‘humanity’ was fulfilled.”⁷⁶ While acknowledging and valuing the benefits provided by membership in particular nation-states, by prioritizing identity in God, Christians are encouraged to call into question those instances in which love and hospitality are denied to others because of circumscription of concern.

In addition to needing to justify the use of scripture in developing an ethics to inform action in the public realm, such justifications are also necessary within the private realm, and even within Christian ethics.⁷⁷ Advances in nearly every field of human civilization were nonexistent in biblical times, and worries exist that there is nothing the Bible can say to a modern world so radically different.⁷⁸ Brian Brock describes the fears and suspicions abounding among some modern Christians, recognizing,

For some time now, many Christians have had a niggling worry that the Bible is a document from another time and place and that its moral certainties could never be their own. Over the decades, this uncertainty has percolated into the contemporary mind, which now commonly holds that the Bible provides only useless or positively misleading bearings in a modern moral landscape.⁷⁹

Bruce Birch and Larry Rasmussen articulate these concerns, recognizing that it is “undeniable that Christian ethics today must find its way amidst moral questions which never appeared on the horizon of biblical ethics.”⁸⁰ Birch and Rasmussen reference the shared human condition of hunger and starvation experienced in both the biblical and contemporary world, but then claim that “addressing the *causes* of hunger and starvation is far different in our time.”⁸¹ Recalling the conceptual tools

⁷⁶ John Milbank, “Postmodern Critical Augustinianism’: A Short Summa in Forty-two Responses to Unasked Questions,” in *The Radical Orthodoxy Reader*, ed. John Milbank, Simon Oliver (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 51.

⁷⁷ Brian Brock, *Singing the Ethos of God: On the Place of Christian Ethics in Scripture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2007), 99.

⁷⁸ Esther D. Reed, *The Genesis of Ethics: On the Authority of God as the Origin of Christian Ethics* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2000), xiii. J.I.H. McDonald, *Biblical interpretation and Christian Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 2.

⁷⁹ Brock, *Singing the Ethos of God: On the Place of Christian Ethics in Scripture*, ix.

⁸⁰ Bruce C. Birch and Larry L. Rasmussen, *Bible & ethics in the Christian life* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989), 12.

⁸¹ Birch and Rasmussen, *Bible & ethics in the Christian life*, 13.

provided by Oliver O'Donovan, I assert that Birch and Rasmussen, in this instance, seem to be identifying a biblical instance of $A \rightarrow B$ and then a contemporary instance of $X \rightarrow Y$, and claiming that because A does not equal X , B cannot equal Y .⁸² Rather than accepting a disjunction between scripture and the contemporary world because of advancements in society, I follow O'Donovan's assertion that a pathway from $A \rightarrow B$ can be identified amidst a particular set of complexities that can shape contemporary moral reasoning in determining action in some situation X . As O'Donovan asserts, "Since no context is the same as any other, no one theological undertaking will exactly mirror another; and yet as each enterprise takes seriously its own authorisation in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, it will find that it is in a symbiotic relation to every other enterprise that does so."⁸³ In Chapter 4 I examine the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt and the Exodus event, and identify the contemporary phenomenon of the interconnected nature of the world present in a time predating globalization, and in Chapter 5, on the book of Ruth, I directly contradict Birch and Rasmussen, and argue that the causes of hunger and starvation are *not* all that different in our time. While differences exist between the biblical and contemporary world, I argue that they are more alike than different. Though positive and negative advances such as radiology or weapons of mass destruction did not exist in biblical times, injustice and senseless acts of violence, illnesses of body and mind, war between nations, natural disaster, famine, and migration are all evident within scripture.⁸⁴ Therefore, as John Barton asserts, scripture remains a vital source for ethics by "providing us with visions of how real human beings can live through various crises and trials and remain human, that is, recognizably continuous with ourselves as part of the human race."⁸⁵

Through an engagement with scripture using the fourfold sense presented by de Lubac, I seek to provide additional background and complexity to the ways that

⁸² O'Donovan, *Self, World, and Time; Ethics as Theology*, 1, 79.

⁸³ O'Donovan, *The Desire of the Nations*, 21.

⁸⁴ Barabbas was described as being jailed for murder, which shows that senseless acts of violence existed (Lk. 23:19) and Barabbas's release instead of Jesus's represents injustice (Lk. 23:1-43). The healings Jesus performed throughout the Gospels demonstrate the existence of illnesses of body and mind (examples include Mt. 4:23-25, Lk. 5:12-20). War between nations is depicted in the Hebrew Bible (a few examples include Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel). Natural disaster, famine, and migration are engaged in Chapter 4.

⁸⁵ John Barton, *Ethics and the Old Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1998), 31.

the Bible commands care for aliens. While the contemporary world is in many ways different than the world of the Bible, it is nevertheless, also similar. But more than demonstrating the relevancy of scripture by highlighting similarities, I also seek to discern how scripture informs and shapes our responses to issues of migration today through the theological insights these passages provide about humanity's relationship with God. By examining allegorical interpretations of biblical passages on migration and hospitality to migrants and strangers, we learn about God, faith, and ourselves, and gain further insight into the ways biblical commands to care for the alien relate to Christians in all times and places. The allegorical interpretations I engage in Part II, shed light on the theological and moral reasoning behind such commands so that we can work toward their application, regardless of new pressures or challenges.

5. Reclaiming Allegory and the Fourfold Sense of Scripture

In opposition to the Enlightenment project's process of sterilizing scripture of the supernatural and eliminating its relevance for contemporary exegetes in the public realm, Henri de Lubac reclaimed the dynamism of scripture through allegory and the fourfold sense identified in patristic and medieval exegesis. De Lubac maintained, "God has spoken but once, and yet his Word, at first extended in duration, remains continuous and does not entirely cease to reach us. It is not only 'our prophecy': it is our day-to-day guide," and he also described scripture as "our daily nourishment, and if we grasp anything in it today that we did not know yesterday, tomorrow holds something equally surprising in store of us."⁸⁶ Allegory challenges divisions between the public and private realms through the fourfold sense of scripture that discerns tropological insights for moral action in the world. While de Lubac did not seek to develop a political theology, this was an inevitable outcome of his insistence on the supernatural pervading all of creation.⁸⁷

The divisions between the public and private realms was dreadfully realized in the New Christendom theology described by William Cavanaugh in the context of

⁸⁶ de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis, Vol. 2, The Four Senses of Scripture*, 140-141.

⁸⁷ Bryan Hollon identifies de Lubac as a resource for developing a political theology in Hollon, *Everything is Sacred; Spiritual Exegesis in the Political Theology of Henri de Lubac*.

1970s Chile during the Pinochet regime.⁸⁸ This real world example demonstrates the unintended, but tragic consequences of the division between the public and private realms. Jacques Maritain articulated New Christendom's distinction between temporal and spiritual realms, and asserted that each person "belongs to two States—a terrestrial State whose end is the common temporal good, and the universal State of the Church whose end is eternal life."⁸⁹ Though Maritain prioritized the eternal over the temporal realm, as Gustavo Gutiérrez contends, the distinction of planes mentality in actuality resulted in the Church's concentration on the eternal and a withdrawal from direct action in the temporal, which meant an abandonment of the political. Gutiérrez argues,

Much more clearly than in the past, the world emerged as autonomous, distinct from the Church and having its own ends. The autonomy of the temporal sphere was asserted not only with regard to ecclesiastical authority but also with regard to the Church's very mission. It was not to interfere, as institution, in temporal matters, expect—according to the most venerable tradition—through moral teachings. In practice this would mean, as we will see later, acting through the mediation of the conscience of the individual Christian.⁹⁰

New Christendom, according to Maritain, entailed not just a division between the temporal and eternal realms, but an accompanying distinction between the natural and supernatural.⁹¹ Maritain maintained that Christians are a part of the spiritual body and in that realm participate in the supernatural, but when they operate in the temporal realm of politics or everyday life, they must translate these principles into secular terms, in order to operate in the world of nature.⁹² Cavanaugh blames the New Christendom theology for the inaction of the Catholic Church in responding to the torture instituted by the Pinochet regime, asserting, "Instead of challenging the autonomy of the temporal, however, his thought has the effect of promoting it,

⁸⁸ Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist*.

⁸⁹ Jacques Maritain, *The Things That Are Not Caesar's*, trans. J.F. Scanlan (London: Sheed & Ward, 1930), 5.

⁹⁰ Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988), 37.

⁹¹ Matthew A. Shadle, *The Origins of War; A Catholic Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2011), 119.

⁹² Shadle, *The Origins of War; A Catholic Perspective*, 119.

aiming at the same time to carve out an untouchable ‘spiritual’ space for the church which is both interior to the person and transcendent to the state.”⁹³

De Lubac opposed divisions between the private and public realms, and adhered to an integrationist theology that asserted that “pure nature” did not exist and “that one cannot analytically separate ‘natural’ and ‘supernatural’ contributions to this integral unity.”⁹⁴ Milbank identifies the necessity for a political theology that does not vacate the temporal realm in favor of the eternal, and credits de Lubac’s refusal to identify pure nature as being constructive for such a theology.⁹⁵ The identity and purpose of the Church “absolutely forbids us to baptise the secular desert as the realm of pure reason, pure nature, natural law or natural rights,” but rather to view the world as the intersection of the temporal and eternal, with an eschatological role embodied in this temporal space.⁹⁶ Milbank claims,

For allegory to work and be renewed we are always returned to the literal – just as, for the mystical path to be taken, we are always returned to the social, political, and ecclesial. *In* the literal resides the springs of spiritual plentitude, even though there is no exigency for the latter, just as the supernatural always eventuates as the fulfillment of the natural. The more exceeding the height, the greater the echo of the resounding depths.⁹⁷

Allegory is an empowering, and even subversive, hermeneutical strategy that interprets scripture in light of tradition and current circumstances, and thereby connects temporal realities and eternal truths. Alongside the fourfold sense of scripture, de Lubac asserted that allegory is “a tool for obtaining a ‘timeless superunderstanding’ of the Bible”⁹⁸ As I seek to demonstrate in Part II of this thesis, interpreting scripture with the aid of the fourfold sense and allegory helps cultivate understandings of scripture that inform moral action in the world today. Graham Ward references the power of allegory, asserting,

The narrative of Moses’s life becomes, when interpreted allegorically, a model for our imitation; a paradigmatic form is discerned within the material

⁹³ Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist*, 181.

⁹⁴ Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory: Beyond Secular Reason*, 206.

⁹⁵ Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory: Beyond Secular Reason*, 208.

⁹⁶ John Milbank, "The Last of the Last: Theology, Authority and Democracy," *Política & Sociedade: Ensaíos Filosóficos* T.58, Fasc. 2 (Apr. - Jun. 2002): 283.

⁹⁷ John Milbank, *The Suspended Middle: Henri de Lubac and the Debate concerning the Supernatural* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005), 78.

⁹⁸ de Lubac, *Theological Fragments*, 174.

details. The text, then, parallels (and it is the nature, operation and significance of that parallel which interests us) the historical people, circumstances and events themselves.⁹⁹

Allegory is one way to lend deeper meaning to current circumstances through a “spiritual identification” between contemporary exegetes and the struggles of those they read about.¹⁰⁰ Against analogy, which seeks a parallel or mapping of the biblical to the contemporary, allegory seeks this spiritual identification and a dynamism that helps exegetes understand themselves as a part of the ongoing scriptural narrative. According to Ward, there is a “theological advantage of turning from the stasis of analogy and symbol...to the dynamism and semiosis of allegory.”¹⁰¹ Ward describes “the move from static atemporal discussions of analogy and symbol to allegory” as presenting “a more dynamic view of the relationship between revelation (the event of Christ), disclosure (a participation in that event), representation and knowledge.”¹⁰² Allegory preserves the specific context of scripture, including the particularities of time and space, while simultaneously reaching for a message that transcends those particularities. As Ward describes, “the intellectual abstraction aims at grasping the universal in the concrete particular.”¹⁰³

While de Lubac sought to reclaim the fourfold sense of scripture originating in the Apostle Paul and employed by patristic and medieval exegesis, he did not argue for an uncritical return to ancient hermeneutics. Utilizing the hermeneutical methodology of allegory, as described by de Lubac, does not entail the “jettisoning [of] every new advance made by modern Biblical criticism,” but instead seeks to prioritize and interpret advances through Christ.¹⁰⁴ De Lubac admitted that contemporary spiritual exegesis “cannot have the same outward characteristic” as

⁹⁹ Graham Ward, “Allegoria: Reading as a Spiritual Exercise,” *Modern Theology* 15:3 (July 1999): 283.

¹⁰⁰ John Tyson describes the way Charles Wesley effectively used allegory in his hymns to make “the singer participate in the biblical action. Where earlier allegorists used the device to communicate ideals or principles, Charles Wesley used allegory to take the reader or singer to the redemptive core of a biblical passage by recreating the event afresh in the reader’s imagination,” in John R. Tyson, *Assist Me To Proclaim; The Life and Hymns of Charles Wesley* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2007), 265.

¹⁰¹ Graham Ward, “Allegoria: Reading as a Spiritual Exercise,” 272.

¹⁰² Graham Ward, “Allegoria: Reading as a Spiritual Exercise,” 272.

¹⁰³ Graham Ward, “Allegoria: Reading as a Spiritual Exercise,” 281.

¹⁰⁴ Peter Casarella, “Introduction to the 2000 Edition,” in *Scripture in the Tradition* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 2000), xviii.

patristic exegesis and that while the early church fathers “bear witness to a springtime, an adolescence,” contemporary exegetes “on the other hand, must successfully represent the age of maturity.”¹⁰⁵ Like de Lubac, I do not propose a simple return to patristic exegesis, but seek to employ patristic exegesis alongside theological insights within the contemporary world. Allegory connects the four senses of scripture by reading historical events in the present day and subsequently draws guiding moral principles united in anagogy, the historical fulfillment. I utilize allegory in this thesis as a way of re-infusing scripture with the supernatural removed in the Enlightenment, and transforming religion into theology, thereby representing a danger to the existence of sovereignty or commerce as simulacra for God and faith.

While utilizing allegory as a methodological strategy, I heed the cautions of Luther and Calvin to preserve the actual historical elements of a biblical narrative, so that allegory does not become detached from its original meaning and context, and spawn an infinite number of meanings. In other words, Luther and Calvin’s warnings provide boundaries for allegory, which include respecting the original context of the Gospel narrative and the theological truths presented throughout scripture. Karl Barth’s use of allegorical interpretations of the Prodigal Son Parable, which I engage in Chapter 7, represents a nuanced use of allegory that values the theological insights that allegory provides, while also understanding it as a second order reflection. There may very well be instances in which allegory is present within scripture itself, and is yearning to be discovered by its interpreters to unlock the meaning of a particular narrative, as patristic exegetes argued.¹⁰⁶ Such a claim, however, is impossible to make about all of scripture with certainty. Instead, I seek to present allegory as a hermeneutics for interpreting scripture in a way that aids the uncovering of timeless theological truths about God, humanity’s relationship to God, and subsequently, moral behavior in the world.

¹⁰⁵ de Lubac, *Scripture in the Tradition*, 67.

¹⁰⁶ As referenced in Chapter 2, de Lubac argued that allegory is a legitimate hermeneutical method based upon Galatians 4:22-24.

6. Conclusion

This chapter has described my methodological strategy of employing Henri de Lubac's articulation of the fourfold sense of scripture, with particular attention to allegory, to instances of scripture that address migration and the extension of care to strangers. Henri de Lubac understood the displacement of God as the ultimate source of human self-understanding to be the primary danger of modernism, and by turning to scripture as a primary source for engaging issues of migration, I utilize the fourfold sense of scripture and allegory as a way of reclaiming the church's footing in the public realm. I argue that migration presents a critical juncture at which the Church and nation-state collide in the care of humanity. My engagement with Luther and Calvin demonstrated the inadvertent creation of distinct secular and religious realms, while also asserting the need for the Church to reclaim the hallowing of everyday life. Luke Bretherton suggests that "it is the dynamics of worship, and in particular listening to Scripture and prayer, that serve as a preliminary preparation for encountering the refugee as a neighbor."¹⁰⁷ By reclaiming allegory, de Lubac revived patristic and medieval exegesis and provided an interpretative strategy for understanding our lives as part of the unfolding narrative of the Christian community. Allegory operates at the "metanarrative level" that recognizes the everyday as a part of history in the unfolding narrative of history.¹⁰⁸ As I will more fully argue in later chapters, the Church's care of migrants not only addresses an urgent humanitarian need, but is also an evangelical act that reveals God's action in the world. Before proceeding to the employment of this methodological strategy in exegesis of four biblical passages in Part II, I address in the next chapter theological utilizations of alien and wanderer language and identify a lacuna between historical and modern theological engagement with the themes of aliens and migration.

¹⁰⁷ Bretherton, *Christianity and Contemporary Politics: The Conditions and Possibilities of Faithful Witness*, 143.

¹⁰⁸ John Milbank, "Henri de Lubac," in *The Modern Theologians; An Introduction to Christian Theology since 1918*, ed. David Ford, and Rachel Muers (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 87.

Chapter 3: Theological Sources for Addressing Migration

1. Introduction

Having identified underlying issues expressed in social contract theories and contemporary political engagement, and established the methodology that I will utilize to address these underlying issues and lacunae, in this chapter I assert how and why I am doing something new with the fourfold sense of scripture and allegory as it relates to issues of migration. In this chapter, I address the terminology that surrounds migration in the Hebrew Bible and New Testament Epistles, and identify additional lacunae within contemporary theological utilizations of the terminology of migration. Migration is both a contemporary and historical reality affecting every facet of human life, and it is therefore not surprising that it is a frequent theme in the Hebrew Bible and New Testament. What is surprising, however, is that it has only recently emerged as a topic of sustained consideration and analysis by theologians and Christian ethicists.¹ Christian theologians such as the author of the *Epistle to Diognetus*, Augustine, and more recently, Stanley Hauerwas and William Willimon, continued New Testament traditions of understanding Christians as wanderers and aliens. Over time, however, these identities have become detached from the Hebrew Bible's emphasis on the extension of love and justice to the actual legal aliens in their midst, and in its place, the themes of exile and pilgrimage and the terminology of wanderers and aliens is utilized by theologians and pastors to reclaim the alien identity of the Church in a post-Christendom era.²

¹ Gioacchino Campese, "The Irruption of Migrants: Theology of Migration in the 21st Century," *Theological Studies* (March 2012); Gemma Tulud Cruz, *Toward a Theology of Migration: Social Justice and Religious Experience*, Content and Context in Theological Ethics (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 7; Groody, "Crossing the Divide."; Jorge E. Castillo Guerra, "A Theology of Migration: Toward an Intercultural Methodology," in *A Promised Land, A Perilous Journey: Theological Perspectives on Migration*, ed. Daniel G. Groody and Gioacchino Campese (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 244; Richard Miller, "Christian Attitudes toward Boundaries: Metaphysical and Geographical," in *Boundaries and Justice: Diverse Ethical Perspectives*, ed. David Miller and Sohail H. Hashmi (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Peter C. Phan, "Embracing, Protecting, and Loving the Stranger: A Roman Catholic Theology of Migration," in *Theology of Migration in the Abrahamic Religions*, ed. Elaine Padilla, Peter C. Phan, Christianities of the World (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 78.

² David Reimer points to Walter Brueggemann, who I engage in this thesis, as a prominent example of employing exile in this way. Reimer asserts that for Brueggemann, "'exile' is not

In contrast with this widening gap between theology and moral action towards legal aliens in our midst, there is a relatively nascent strand of theological reflection on migration which emphasizes biblically commanded moral behavior toward aliens, but fails to also address the alien character of the Christian communities they call upon to extend such love and hospitality. These theologies recognize the ways in which migrants reveal the image of God in their journeys, and how this necessitates upholding biblical commands for the just treatment of the alien, but they do not engage the practical questions of what such care, compassion, and justice entail in relation to the public square. They demand justice but do not address underlying issues that I argue have arisen through the enduring influence of the social contract tradition in the world. Within the lacunae between longstanding theological traditions that employ the terminology of wanderers and aliens without care for legal aliens, and emerging theological reflections that urge care for legal aliens but do not articulate the alien identity of those who extend such aid, I develop a theological ethics of migration that asserts the need to care for aliens and thereby recognizes how this makes the Church alien, and thus a witness for the kingdom of God in the world. This chapter begins to frame the development of a theology of wanderers and aliens that shapes the theological and ethical treatment of migrants developed throughout this thesis. I begin this chapter by addressing the shift from the sociopolitical aliens described in the Hebrew Bible to the cosmological wanderers and aliens of the New Testament, and then examine theological traditions of employing the terminology of biblical migration and identify gaps between theology and ethics within the existing theological literature on migration.

2. Wanderers and Aliens in Scripture

The Hebrew Bible's use of the word, גֵּר, *resident alien*, described not only the geographical movement of the Israelite patriarchs between places, but also their precarious experiences in the places where they resided as aliens. Patrick Miller describes the גֵּר, זֶר, *stranger*, and נָכְרִי, *foreigner*, as “the primary lexical stock for

merely a historical datum, but a paradigm of the condition of modern faith communities,” in David J. Reimer, “Exile,” in *Book Exile* ed. Adrian Hastings, Hugh Pyper, with Ingrid Lawrie and Cecily Bennett, Series Exile (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 227.

speaking about strangers, outsiders, or foreigners” in the Hebrew Bible.³ An important distinction between these terms, however, is that the Israelites are commanded to care for the גֵּר, whereas the זֶר and נִכְרִי refers to those people who remain foreigners within Israel and “are only encountered all intents and purposes in commercial activities or hostilities with other nations.”⁴ As Miller points out, “In all the uses of *zār* there are none that refer to such persons as strangers among Israel to be received by them,” and referring to the *nokrî*, “there are not, for the most part, those with whom one experiences a continuing existence unless forced to do so by subjugation and domination under a foreign country.”⁵ Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and even, Immanuel Kant, only recognized migrants as temporary agents of commerce, and in this way, they only acknowledged those people that the Hebrew Bible identified as the זֶר and נִכְרִי, but not the גֵּר. The גֵּר represents deep and complex dynamics within the biblical world that also illuminate the experiences of many migrants today.

The term, גֵּר, is utilized to denote the status of the Israelite patriarchs (Ex. 6:4; 1 Chron. 29:15; Ps 39:13; 105:1-13), with emphasis on Abram’s sojourn to and residence in Egypt, Sodom, Gerar, and Philistine (Gen. 12:10; 15:13; 19:9; 20:1; 21:23, 34, 23:4; 35:27), Isaac to Gerar (Gen. 26:3; 35:27), and Jacob’s residence with Laban (Gen. 32:4) and his journey to Egypt to be reunited with his son Joseph (Gen. 41:57; 47:4). While translators often interpreted גֵּר as *to sojourn* or *reside as alien*, Theophile Meek and Frank Anthony Spina argue that the term *immigrant* is a more accurate translation that “underscores not simply the outsider status in the adopted social setting, but in addition those factors and conditions related to the emigration in the first place.”⁶ Throughout the Hebrew Bible, גֵּר described elements

³ Patrick D. Miller, “Israel as Host to Strangers,” in *Israelite Religion and Biblical Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 549.

⁴ Miller, “Israel as Host to Strangers,” 551. Miller cites relevant scripture to include: Jer. 51:51; Job 19:15; Obad. 11; Prov. 5:10, 27:13; Lam. 5:2; Isa. 61:5; Ps. 144:7, 11.

⁵ Miller, “Israel as Host to Strangers,” 549, 550.

⁶ Within Genesis 12:10, the NRSV and NIV both translate גֵּר as *to reside as alien*. The ASV, ESV, KJV, and RV, all translate גֵּר as *to sojourn*. Patrick Miller argues for the translation of resident alien in Miller, “Israel as Host to Strangers,” 552. Elisabeth Robertson Kennedy acknowledges different translations but prefers *to sojourn* despite recognizing antiquated connotations of the translation in Elisabeth Robertson Kennedy, *Seeking a Homeland: Sojourn and Ethnic Identity in the Ancestral Narratives of Genesis* (Leiden:

of geographical movement and resettlement, and also incorporated push and pull factors that remain relevant to migrants today. As I discuss in chapter 4, each of the Israelite patriarchs, as well as Elimelech and Naomi, were גֵּר when they migrated owing to the push factor of רָעָב בְּאֶרֶץ, *famine in the land*, and Egypt's economic prosperity served as a pull factor in the surrounding context of the Exodus event.

In addition to the push and pull factors that compelled the migrations of the Israelite patriarchs and others, their arrival in new lands have particular sociopolitical implications. D. Kellerman points out how the גֵּר “occupies an intermediate position between a native (‘ezrach) and a foreigner (→ נֹכְרִי *nokhrî*),” and “lacks the protection and the privileges which usually come from blood relationship and place of birth.”⁷ Away from home and unable to draw support from family, the גֵּר is forced to rely on the hospitality of those among whom they dwell, which is a trait shared with widows and orphans in the Israelite legal code.⁸ Within the experiences of each of the Israelite patriarchs are situations of fear, vulnerability, and longing for home arising from the dependence that is indicative of the גֵּר. The wife-as-sister motifs, for example, illustrate how “the mighty colossus engenders the feeling of utter powerlessness on the part of the lesser one,” as Abraham and Isaac are each documented as presenting their wives as their sisters to the Pharaoh or Abimelech (Gen. 12:10-20; 21:22-34; 26:1-33).⁹ Patrick Miller asserts that the wife-as-sister motifs are “typical in some rather basic ways of the plight of the resident alien in strange country,” which include migrating in order to escape dire circumstances, and “the apparent ease with which the immigrants can be subject to the domination of the leaders of the land in which they are forced to dwell, and the tendency, which can be perceived as a necessity, to accommodate to the situation in which one is forced to

Brill, 2011), 4. Frank Anthony Spina, "Israelites as gērîm, 'Sojourners,' in Social and Historical Context," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Carol L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 323; Theophile James Meek, "The Translation of Gêr in the Hexateuch and Its Bearing on the Documentary Hypothesis," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 49, no. 2 (1930): 172.

⁷ Diether Kellermann, "GER," in Book GER,II, ed. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Series GER (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1973), 443.

⁸ Scripture in which the alien is included among the poor, widow, and orphan include Dt. 10:18; Dt. 27:19; Zech. 7:10; Psalm 146:9.

⁹ Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12-36; A Commentary*, trans. John J. Scullion (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1985), 164.

go.”¹⁰ Demonstrating the reliance of the גַּר upon the host culture, Abraham and Sarah resided in Canaan as גַּרִּים, and upon Sarah’s death, Abraham, who was without land, approached the Hittites for a burial plot (Gen. 23:1-16).¹¹ Abraham’s purchase of the cave of Machpelah as a burial plot defied one of the fundamental marks of the גַּר, which is being without land.¹² Nahum Sarna asserts that this purchase is “the first piece of real estate in the promised land secured by the founding father of the nation, and its acquisition presages the future possession of the entire land.”¹³ Abraham’s purchase represents a cosmological shift as the burial plot represents “the foreshadowing of future benefits of salvation (Heb. 10.1)” and “a preview of our relationship to the saving benefit promised to us, the new life in Christ into which we also die.”¹⁴ The purchase of the burial plot is, as Walter Brueggemann asserts, “a symbolic but concrete guarantee of possession of the whole land” through which “Abraham and Sarah ‘acknowledged that they were strangers and exiles on the earth,’ and ‘make it clear they are seeking a homeland.’ (Heb. 11:13-14).”¹⁵

The experience of the Israelite patriarchs as resident aliens is engaged within the Epistle to the Hebrews, which emphasized the cosmological nature “of the heroes

¹⁰ Miller, "Israel as Host to Strangers," 554. The wife-as-sister motif is found when Abram migrates from Negeb to Egypt due to famine and instructs Sarai, *Say you are my sister, so that it may go well with me because of you, and that my life may be spared on your account* (Gen. 12:13). Again, גַּר בְּגֵרָה, *residing as an alien in Gerar*, Abraham told King Abimelech that Sarah was not his wife, but once again claimed, *she is my sister* (Gen. 20:2). Similar to his father’s first sojourn due to famine and instruction from the Lord, Isaac journeyed to Gerar due to famine. Like his father’s experience in sojourning, after residing as a גַּר in Gerar, Isaac says of his wife Rebekah, *she is my sister* (Gen. 26:7).

¹¹ Though a גַּר, without land, Abraham was wealthy and was considered a *mighty prince* among the Hittites (Gen. 23:6) which reinforces that lack of land corresponded to the definition of the גַּר.

¹² According to Hermann Gunkel, the kindness of the Hittites in offering the land and cave as a gift was motivated not by hospitality, but a desire to maintain the unequal social dynamics between גַּר and citizen, in Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis*, trans. Mark E. Biddle, Mercer library of Biblical studies (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997), 270. Patrick Miller, however, lists this as a positive model of hospitality to strangers in Miller, "Israel as Host to Strangers," 557.

¹³ Nahum M. Sarna, *Genesis: The Traditional Hebrew text with New JPS Translation*, ed. Nahum M. Sarna, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 156.

¹⁴ Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis, A Commentary*, Third revised edition. ed., The Old Testament Library (London: SCM Press, 1972), 250.

¹⁵ Walter Brueggemann, *Genesis, Interpretation, a Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1982), 196, 197.

of the book of Genesis” by describing them as ξένοι καὶ παρεπίδημοί εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, *strangers and foreigners on the earth*, and asserted that κρείττονος ὀρέγονται, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἐπουρανίου, *they desire a better country, that is, a heavenly one* (Heb. 11:13, 16).¹⁶ These verses understood the Israelite patriarchs as אֲרָם not just in the lands of Egypt, Sodom, Gerar, and Philistia, but also Canaan, which they were to receive as an inheritance (Heb. 11:9), and ultimately upon the earth.¹⁷ The Israelite patriarchs were sociopolitical and legal אֲרָם, who were forced to rely on the citizens of the lands where they dwelt, but they were also cosmological אֲרָם who could only find an eschatological home. The Epistle to the Hebrews serves a pastoral function as it “revitalizes the scriptural tradition for all who feel as Israel’s ancestors did: they are unsettled in their present circumstances and feel as though they are strangers and aliens in this world (1 Pet 2:11).”¹⁸ The cosmological and eschatological interpretation of the Israelite patriarchs encouraged the Epistle’s recipients by explaining “how it is that they can struggle on earth despite the truth of their confession, while at the same time offering them hope as an incentive to endure.”¹⁹ As cosmological strangers and foreigners upon the earth, they were also legitimate sociopolitical and legal aliens. The experiences of journeying and exile experienced within the Hebrew Bible are interpreted in the light of “the spirit of alienation from the life around” the Christian community, and became a “bedrock for early Christian ideas on pilgrimage.”²⁰

The Epistle to the Philippians reveals similar cosmological and social themes, and expands upon the role of the Christian community as aliens and strangers upon the earth. The Apostle Paul declared to the Christians in Philippi, ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ

¹⁶ Kennedy, *Seeking a Homeland: Sojourn and Ethnic Identity in the Ancestral Narratives of Genesis*, 1.

¹⁷ Alan C. Mitchell, *Hebrews*, ed. Daniel J. Harrington, vol. 13, Sacra Pagina Series (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2007), 242.

¹⁸ Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 13, 243.

¹⁹ Kenneth Schenck, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Hebrews; The Settings of the Sacrifice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 64.

²⁰ Philip Edwards, *Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 7. This is supported by William L. Lane, *Hebrews 9-13*, ed. David A. Hubbard, Glenn W. Barker, John D. W. Watts, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1991), 357. Robert Jewett asserts that this aspect of Hebrews “has beckoned with powerful force from the *Canterbury Tales* and *Pilgrim’s Progress* down to the novels of Steinbeck and Faulkner,” in Robert Jewett, *Letter to Pilgrims; A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (New York, NY: Pilgrim Press, 1981), 204.

πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει, ἐξ οὗ καὶ σωτῆρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, *But our citizenship is in heaven, and it is from there that we are expecting a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ* (Phil. 3:20). Gerald Hawthorne and Ralph Martin point out that πολίτευμα, *citizenship*, was often “used to designate a colony of foreigners or relocated veterans (BDAG) whose purpose was to secure the conquered country for the conquering country by spreading abroad that country’s way of doing things, its customs, its culture, and its laws.”²¹ In contrast to the Jewish colonies that Paul believed were “earthbound, time-bound colonies without any enduring quality,” the Christian community is “a colony of heaven, living here on earth, to be sure, but belonging to a heavenly city that is enduring. Therefore, they enjoy all the rights and privileges of that city, including the privilege of eternal life.”²² The Epistle to the Philippians shared similar pastoral concerns as Hebrews, and encouraged the Philippians to persevere in faith amidst earthly difficulties arising from their identity as God’s people. Gordon Fee asserts that “They are to imitate Paul in their ‘walk,’ because (‘for’) their true ‘commonwealth’ is in heaven; as such they live God’s righteousness as an outpost of heaven in Philippi.”²³ Paul does not advocate withdrawal from the world, however, but wants the Christian community to “shine like stars in the universe as you hold out the word of life—in order that I may boast on the day of Christ that I did not run or labor for nothing” (Phil. 2:15-16). As asserted within the Epistle to Philippians, heavenly citizenship strengthens the Christian community for life in the world.

The First Epistle of Peter is addressed to the παρεπιδήμοις διασποράς, *exiles of the Dispersion* in the cities of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia (1 Pet. 1:1). John Elliott argues against cosmological interpretations of the exilic language within First Peter, and claims that the recipients of the Epistle “were *paroikoi* by virtue of their social condition, not by virtue of their ‘heavenly home.’”²⁴

²¹ Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*, ed. Bruce Metzger, David A. Hubbard, Glenn W. Barker; Ralph P. Martin, Word Biblical Commentary (Thomas Nelson, Inc., 2015), 231.

²² Hawthorne, *Philippians*, 231.

²³ Gordon D. Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995), 379.

²⁴ John H. Elliott, *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of I Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* (London: SCM Press, 1982), 130. Elliot makes similar assertions in John H.

Elliot understands *παρεπιδήμους* as expressing “the sense in which these Christians are strangers and aliens because they experience estrangement as a community with a decidedly different ethos than the wider culture in which they live.”²⁵ According to Elliot, the Greek word, *παρεπιδήμους*, is used to describe “persons displaced from their own homes and places of birth and belonging, and live as ‘by-dwellers’ (*paroikoi*, *par-epidē-moi*) among the homes (*oikoi*) and countries (*dēmoi*) of others, with whom they share no kinship or cultural ties.”²⁶ Reinhard Feldmeier, however, identifies the way in which “in the context of the letter the traditional language of sojourning receives a clearly eschatological focus,” and how, when they are reborn, they “have a future transcending this passing world.”²⁷ Nevertheless, this designation shows “that the distinctive values and convictions of the Christian community were not purely spiritual realities but had significant social consequences—a major concern of the letter.”²⁸ This transcendence, however, does not inspire withdrawal, but engagement, as they “make their own identity clear, even in their way of life.”²⁹ As Miroslav Volf asserts, “the new birth is neither a conversion to our authentic inner self nor a migration (*metoikesia*) of the soul into a heavenly realm, but a translation of a person into the house of God (*oikos tou theou*) erected in the midst of the world.”³⁰

Elliott, *1 Peter; A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Yale Bible (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 322.

²⁵ J. de Waal Dryden, *Theology and Ethics in 1 Peter: Paraenetic Strategies for Christian Character Formation*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament Reihe (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 128.

²⁶ Elliott, *1 Peter; A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 458.

²⁷ Reinhard Feldmeier, “The ‘Nation’ of Strangers: Social Contempt and its Theological Interpretation in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity,” in *Ethnicity and the Bible*, ed. Mark G. Brett (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 257.

²⁸ Donald Senior, “1 Peter,” in *1 Peter, Jude and 2 Peter*, ed. Daniel J. Harrington (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003), 10.

²⁹ Feldmeier, “The ‘Nation’ of Strangers: Social Contempt and its Theological Interpretation in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity,” 259. This is affirmed by Peter H. Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1990), 92.

³⁰ Miroslav Volf, “Soft Difference: Church and Culture in 1 Peter,” in *Captive to the Word of God; Engaging the Scriptures for Contemporary Theological Reflection* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2010), 73.

3. Aliens Without Wandering: Theological Use of Alien Terminology

The longstanding theological tradition of employing the terminology of aliens and exile elucidates the way in which Christians serve the vital task of demonstrating God's kingdom within the world. Whereas the Hebrew Bible employed resident alien terminology to describe actual legal and sociopolitical aliens who lived in foreign lands, the *Epistle to Diognetus*, Augustine, and Stanley Hauerwas and William Willimon describe every Christian as an alien on earth because their true home is in heaven. Nicholas Wolterstorff recognizes that Christians are on a temporary sojourn in the world by referring to the earth as "a temporary stopping point," but argues alongside Peter Elliot "that it does not follow that either they are aliens in whatever political jurisdiction they find themselves or should regard and comport themselves as if they were aliens."³¹ Wolterstorff asserts, "We do not carry green cards," and subsequently makes the argument that the terminology of aliens should not be extended to Christians who are citizens in the places they live.³² While many Christians may not be legal aliens, I argue that extending a sociopolitical alien identity to the Church and Christians serves the vital purpose of enabling citizens to extend biblical hospitality to the legal alien in their midst. Further, I argue that by extending hospitality in the places where they live, these citizens become the sociopolitical aliens described in the New Testament Epistles. This section engages how the *Epistle to Diognetus* and Augustine's *City of God* employed the themes of Christians living as aliens, and how contemporary theologians, such as Hauerwas and Willimon, continue to utilize these themes.

The *Epistle to Diognetus* identified Christians as indistinguishable from others in the world and yet distinct, claiming, "They live in their native countries, but only as outsiders. They participate in everything like citizens and tolerate all things as foreigners. Every foreign place is their homeland, and every homeland is foreign," and "they spend time on earth, but their citizenship is in heaven."³³ The *Epistle* resonates with the prophet Jeremiah's call for the Israelites in Babylon Captivity to

³¹ Nicholas Wolterstorff, *The Mighty and the Almighty: An Essay in Political Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 45.

³² Wolterstorff, *The Mighty and the Almighty: An Essay in Political Theology*, 43.

³³ "The Epistle to Diognetus," in *The Epistle to Diognetus (with the Fragment of Quadratus)*, ed. Clayton N. Jefford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), Ch. V: 145.

build houses and live in them, plant gardens and eat what they produce, take wives and have sons and daughters, and seek the welfare of the city (Jer. 29:5-7), while simultaneously echoing the Pauline and Petrine Epistles' references to God's people as wanderers and aliens and living in exile upon the earth (Heb. 11:13; 1 Pet. 1:1; 2:11).³⁴ Though the author, dating, and location of the *Epistle* are all unknown, the letter serves as an apologetic for regarding Christians as "good citizens, who were in fact not a liability but an asset to the empire."³⁵ Despite serving this apologetic purpose, the *Epistle* is subversive in its claim that as Christians live as exemplary citizens and work for the improvement of the communities they inhabit, they remain as distinct from the world as "the soul is in the body" so that they can "guide the world."³⁶

Christian distinctiveness is not evident in "country, language, or customs," but in "the admirable and admittedly unusual character of their own citizenship."³⁷ Benjamin Dunning asserts that the *Epistle* "puts the trope of alien status to work in order to situate Christian identity very much within the Roman social order," but it is developed in such a way that "it is part of a larger argument in order to resist a certain (Roman) construction of that social order and way of thinking about Christians' place within it."³⁸ The *Epistle* articulated a "third race," in which Christian citizenship is universally available, but remains distinct in eschatological hope and exerts positive impact on the places they inhabit.³⁹ "This rhetorical sleight

³⁴ Benjamin H. Dunning, *Aliens and Sojourners: Self as Other in Early Christianity*, Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 64.

³⁵ Denise Kimber Buell asserts that the letter may have been composed in the third century and states its apologetical function in Denise Kimber Buell, *Why This New Race? Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2005). Paul Foster links the apologetic purpose of the epistle to a second century context in Paul Foster, "The Epistle to Diognetus," in *The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Paul Foster (New York, NY: T&T Clark, 2007), 149-150. Jefford also asserts its apologetic function resonates with second to third century apologetics, but is more hesitant in prescribing a century in Clayton N. Jefford, *The Epistle to Diognetus (with the Fragment of Quadratus): Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, Oxford Apostolic Fathers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 5.

³⁶ "The Epistle to Diognetus," Ch. VI: 147.

³⁷ "The Epistle to Diognetus," CH. V: 145.

³⁸ Dunning, *Aliens and Sojourners: Self as Other in Early Christianity*, 64.

³⁹ The idea of a "new" or "third race" is well referenced and critical to Robert L. Calhoun, *Scripture, Creed, Theology; Lectures on the History of Christian Doctrine in the First Centuries* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2011), 81. Dunning, *Aliens and Sojourners: Self as*

of hand,” according to Clayton Jeffords, “serves to disconnect the Christian experience from ethnic distinctions, turning the elements of faith into a category that is an essential good for the foundation of society and its development.”⁴⁰ This third race, or *genos*, represented what the *Epistle* described as an “admirable and admittedly unusual character of their citizenship” that mirrors the ways in which Roman citizenship was extended across geographical areas to include multiple languages and local customs yet was shaped by the distinct contributions of these citizens upon the world.⁴¹ The subversive element of the *Epistle* is seen in its contention that Christians’ exemplary behavior and contributions to the community serve to “outstrip the Romans in their ability to fulfill Roman norms.”⁴² Dunning describes this trait of the *Epistle*, asserting that “*Diognetus*’s stance is an agonistic one, appealing to Roman ethical and cultural ideals as a platform upon which to valorize Christian alien identity and thus oppose its relegation to a site of reproach among the hierarchies of status and power that structure Roman society.”⁴³ As the *Epistle* claimed, Christians “participate in everything like citizens and tolerate all things as foreigners. Every foreign place is their homeland, and every homeland is foreign.”⁴⁴

Despite arguing for full participation in the world, the *Epistle to Diognetus* retained the concept of Christian distinctiveness by its claim that “what the soul is in the body, this is what Christians are in the world.”⁴⁵ The *Epistle* evoked Platonic thought to understand “the invisible soul within the visible body,” and described how

Other in Early Christianity, 67. Carolyn Osiek, “The Self-defining Praxis of the Developing Ecclesia,” in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. Margaret M. Mitchell, Frances M. Young (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 274.

⁴⁰ Jefford, *The Epistle to Diognetus (with the Fragment of Quadratus): Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 32.

⁴¹ Buell, *Why This New Race: Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity*, 32. Mark Edwards addresses the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 215 which extended Roman citizenship by requiring the worship of Roman gods but encouraged worship of local deities as well, in Mark Edwards, *Religions of the Constantinian Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 17.

⁴² Dunning, *Aliens and Sojourners: Self as Other in Early Christianity*, 66.

⁴³ Dunning, *Aliens and Sojourners: Self as Other in Early Christianity*, 66.

⁴⁴ “The Epistle to Diognetus,” CH. V: 145.

⁴⁵ “The Epistle to Diognetus,” CH. VI: 147.

Christians endure abuse for their vital contributions to the world.⁴⁶ Having ultimate identity in God does not preclude activity on earth but informs earthly action as “they are called, like the diaspora Jews, to pray for them and to seek their welfare.”⁴⁷ Though eschatologically distinct from the earthly world, Christians are charged with the critical task of helping repair the world. Referencing the *Epistle to Diognetus*, Adrian Hastings asserted that though “they might like to think of themselves as merely ‘sojourning for a while in the midst of corruptibility,’ the reality was that what the Epistle calls ‘holding the body together’ meant more and more to them, a responsibility to the world.”⁴⁸ Knowledge of God motivates the distinct contributions of Christian citizenship to the communities they inhabit through Jesus Christ, who the *Epistle* describes as “one calling, not pursuing...sent as one loving not judging.”⁴⁹ The *Epistle*’s claim that God “persuades, not compels” through Jesus Christ informs how Christians will work for the improvement of the world through *imitatio Dei*, as the soul works for the good of the body.⁵⁰ As “the flesh hates the soul and is hostile toward it, even though it has not been wronged” the *Epistle* explains, “the world hates Christians, even though it has not been wronged, because they oppose its delights.”⁵¹ Christian witness in the world is ironically subversive because, while Christians contribute to the good of the city, they remain detached from an all-embracing devotion to the city, and serve the city for God.

Augustine understood Christians as “the city of God” or “the Heavenly city in her pilgrimage” sojourning alongside the earthly city while their ultimate citizenship remains in heaven.⁵² Augustine allegorically interpreted Jerusalem and Babylon respectively as the city of God and the earthly city, and identified the city of

⁴⁶ "The Epistle to Diognetus," Ch. VI: 147. Foster, "The Epistle to Diognetus," 152. Jefford, *The Epistle to Diognetus (with the Fragment of Quadratus): Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 64.

⁴⁷ Michael S. Northcott, *An Angel Directs the Storm: Apocalyptic Religion and American Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 171.

⁴⁸ Hastings, "Christianity and Nationhood: Congruity or Antipathy?," 249.

⁴⁹ "The Epistle to Diognetus," Ch. VII: 151.

⁵⁰ "The Epistle to Diognetus," Ch. VII: 151. Jefford, *The Epistle to Diognetus (with the Fragment of Quadratus): Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 32. Henry G. Meecham, *The Epistle to Diognetus: The Greek Text With Introduction Translation and Notes* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1949), 30.

⁵¹ "The Epistle to Diognetus," Ch. VI: 147.

⁵² Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, Book XIX, Ch. 17, 879.

God as on pilgrimage in Babylon until the peace of Jerusalem emerges victorious.⁵³ Without mentioning the *Epistle to Diognetus*, Augustine's *City of God* expresses similar themes and also served as an apologetic for the Christian faith amidst accusations that Christianity contributed to the sack of Rome by the Visigoths in 410 A.D. Augustine understood Christian citizenship as extending across borders as the Church "calls out citizens from all nations and so collects a society of aliens, speaking all languages," while also abiding by the laws and customs of local and national communities "provided that no hindrance is presented thereby to the religion which teaches that the one supreme and true God is to be worshipped."⁵⁴ The unique *telos* of the heavenly city differentiates it from the earthly city, thereby shaping what it deems important. Augustine identified the earthly city as loving the self over God, while the heavenly city loves God over the self, but "in this world, the two cities are indeed entangled and mingled with one another; and they will remain so until the last judgment shall separate them."⁵⁵ Until the two cities become distinct, Augustine asserted that it is critical for the heavenly city to utilize earthly peace and, in R.A. Markus's identification, "the *saeculum* for Augustine was the sphere of temporal realities in which the two 'cities' share an interest."⁵⁶ Markus identifies how the heavenly city benefits from the peace of the earthly city, and asserts that this common ground can be cultivated not at "the most fundamental level, that of their ultimate allegiance," but at a secondary level.⁵⁷ Markus claims that "with John Stuart Mill, Augustine held that mankind 'are more easily brought to agree in their intermediate principles, *vera illa et media axiomata*, as Bacon says, than in their first principles'. These intermediate principles sufficed to stake out a large tract of territory common to the two cities in their temporal being."⁵⁸

Bearing in mind Augustine's decree that "it has not been possible for the Heavenly City to have laws of religion in common with the earthly city," I recognize

⁵³ Bretherton, *Christianity and Contemporary Politics: The Conditions and Possibilities of Faithful Witness*, 4-6.

⁵⁴ Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, Book XIX, Ch. 17, 879.

⁵⁵ Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, Book I, Ch. 35, 49. R. A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 62. O'Donovan, *The Desire of the Nations*, 203.

⁵⁶ Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine*, 101.

⁵⁷ Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine*, 101.

⁵⁸ Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine*, 101.

truth in Markus's claim that life in common takes places among intermediate principles, but I caution against the possible blurring or outright replacement of foundational principles in search of such agreement.⁵⁹ Recalling my argument that the sovereign and commerce sought to become a simulacrum for God and faith during the Enlightenment within Chapter 1, I assert that agreement in the public realm can arise from faithful adherence to foundational principles such as faith. While this may or may not be a necessary objection to Markus's argument, it is a warning that must be taken seriously in order to prevent the catastrophic dismissal of faith from the public realm and relegated strictly to the personal realm, where it is left without the potential to impact the shaping of moral action in the public realm.

Corresponding to the *Epistle of Diognetus*' conception of Christians as the soul in the body, Augustine claimed that while Christians promote earthly peace, the heavenly city nevertheless "had to endure their anger and hatred, and the assaults of persecution; until at length that City shattered the morale of her adversaries by the terror inspired by her numbers, and by the help she continually received from God."⁶⁰ As the city of God dwells on earth, Oliver O'Donovan recognizes that "toleration was compatible with a certain pastoral correction, which was the discipline extended by the church in love to its wayward members."⁶¹ Though indistinguishable from the earthly city, the heavenly city performs a vital counter-cultural witness in the midst of the earthly city. Living by the distinct *telos* located in God and the eschatological promise of the coming kingdom of heaven on earth, the heavenly city "did not content itself with looking toward heaven."⁶² Instead, as William Cavanaugh proclaims the Church's responsibility is "to build the city of God, beside which the earthly city appears to be not a city at all."⁶³ Christians witness to the reality of the heavenly city on earth by utilizing "the same temporal goods as does the earthly city, but in different ways and for different ends," thereby

⁵⁹ Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, Bk. XIX, Ch. 17, 946.

⁶⁰ Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, Book XIX, Ch. 17, 877.

⁶¹ O'Donovan, *The Desire of the Nations*, 202.

⁶² Eugene TeSelle, *Living in Two Cities: Augustinian Trajectories in Political Thought* (Scranton, PA: University of Scranton Press, 1998), 39.

⁶³ William T. Cavanaugh, "From One City to Two: Christian Reimagining of Political Space," in *Migrations of the Holy: God, State, and the Political Meanings of the Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2011), 63.

revealing a different *telos* to the earthly city.⁶⁴ Augustine affirmed the prophet Jeremiah's call for Christians to work for the prospering of the places where they live, but maintained the distinct *telos* that situates Christians as sojourners on an earthly pilgrimage.⁶⁵ As Markus claims, "The radically revolutionary character of Christian hope makes it, in practice, compatible with almost any political programme which does not set itself up as an ideology with absolute claims upon men's ultimate loyalties."⁶⁶ As the issues of migration make evident, Christians are challenged to balance concerns for universal humanity with living within and benefiting from particular nation-states.⁶⁷

The longstanding tradition of employing the terminology of wanderers and aliens is being increasingly utilized to describe Christians living in a secular or post-Christendom world.⁶⁸ Hauerwas and Willimon claim that "the demise of the Constantinian world view" provides an opportunity for Christians to "be the church, people who reside here and now, but who live here as aliens, people who know that, while we live here, 'our commonwealth is in heaven.'"⁶⁹ Instead of utilizing exile as the predominant theme, Hauerwas and Willimon describe the alien nature of the Church to emphasize its vital contributions to society. Hauerwas maintains Augustine's pilgrimage motif by describing the Church as "a people on a journey," and argues that contemporary Christians must understand themselves as being "at home in no nation."⁷⁰ Alongside the *Epistle to Diognetus* and Augustine, Hauerwas asserts that being in the Church is "not a rejection of the world or a withdrawal ethic, but a reminder that Christians must serve the world on their own terms; otherwise the

⁶⁴ Cavanaugh, "From One City to Two," 57.

⁶⁵ TeSelle, *Living in Two Cities*, 39, 43.

⁶⁶ Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine*, 172.

⁶⁷ Bretherton, *Christianity and Contemporary Politics: The Conditions and Possibilities of Faithful Witness*, 126.

⁶⁸ Stanley Hauerwas and William H. Willimon, *Resident Aliens: Life in the Christian Colony; A Provocative Christian Assessment of Culture and Ministry for People Who Know That Something is Wrong* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1989), 18.

⁶⁹ Hauerwas and Willimon, *Resident Aliens: Life in the Christian Colony; A Provocative Christian Assessment of Culture and Ministry for People Who Know That Something is Wrong*, 18, 29.

⁷⁰ Stanley Hauerwas, *The Peaceable Kingdom: A Primer in Christian Ethics* (London: SCM, 1983), 107.

world would have no means to know itself as the world.”⁷¹ As the Church is ordered by a distinctive *telos* and loves God in the face of earthly power and force, “the church first serves the world by helping the world know what it means to be the world. For without a ‘contrast model’ the world has no way to know or feel the oddness of its dependence on power for survival.”⁷² The Church, while being an alien in the world, must nevertheless be in the world to illuminate what the world is not.

The alien identity of the Church enables its prophetic witness within and to the world, and as Hauerwas asserts, “Christians must attempt to be nothing less than a people whose ethic shines as a beacon to others illuminating how life should be lived well.”⁷³ The *Epistle to Diognetus* and Augustine articulated the alien character of the Church while on pilgrimage in the world, and Hauerwas and Willimon emphasize the counter-cultural witness of Christians to that world. While they each utilize the terminology of wanderers and aliens as a theological motif describing the Christian community in the world, what they do not clarify is how intentional care for the sociopolitical and legal alien in their midst makes the Church more alien. The theological motifs of wanderers and aliens, as well as pilgrimage and exile, are becoming increasingly detached from considerations of moral action directed toward the actual legal and sociopolitical alien in our midst, and are becoming more and more a way to articulate pastorally the exilic nature of the Church. As Daniel Smith-Christopher asserts, “Much of the present identity crisis boils down to a loss of power and influence—a loss of moral power because of a history of compromise, and thus a loss of authority behind most attempts at persuasion.”⁷⁴ Smith-Christopher describes the contemporary situation of Christians and the Church and the theme of exile as “a radically sobering diagnosis for the present reality of Christian existence in the world,” and Walter Brueggemann puts forth the proposal that “the Old Testament experience of and reflection upon exile is a helpful metaphor for

⁷¹ Stanley Hauerwas, *A Community of Character: Toward a Constructive Christian Social Ethic* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), 10.

⁷² Hauerwas, *A Community of Character*, 50.

⁷³ Hauerwas, *The Peaceable Kingdom: A Primer in Christian Ethics*, 97, 34.

⁷⁴ Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, *A Biblical Theology of Exile, Overtures to Biblical Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002), 191.

understanding our current faith situation in the U.S. church, and a *model* for pondering new forms of ecclesiology.”⁷⁵

David Reimer seeks to “coax ‘diaspora’ out of the shadow of ‘exile,’” and asserts that “whereas exile implies loss of home, diaspora suggests a home-away-from-home,” and that whereas exile “reinforced boundary markers” due to its immediate and forced nature, diaspora “may be all of those things—and it may be chosen, may be inherited.”⁷⁶ In addition to the themes of exile identified by Brueggemann and Smith-Christopher, diaspora provides a powerful conceptual tool for understanding the role of Christians in the world today. Reimer sums up diaspora, asserting, “Diaspora might involve being flung from a homeland, but might equally be a state of equilibrium and settled life,” and that “it might simply imply a ‘different’ identity from a dominant host culture.”⁷⁷ For many Christians in the West, the places they currently live are the places they call home, and unlike the Israelites in Babylon, they live settled lives. Reflecting the understandings of cosmological and sociopolitical aliens I have identified in this chapter, I argue that exile is a significant model for understanding how Christians are cosmological aliens who are on earthly pilgrimage, while diaspora attests to the acknowledgment that Christians in the West are most often, not sociopolitical aliens, but nevertheless, an alien community that is ordered by their distinct *telos* in God. As Hauerwas and Willimon argue, the alien identity to be embraced by the Church is not a forced exile, but a voluntary experience that serves a vital witness to the world. Arguing along similar lines, Brueggemann asserts that the Church must exist “in tension with empire—as an alternative to empire, as a subversion of empire,” which I argue can arise through the way the Church extends justice and hospitality to the migrant.⁷⁸ Exile is not defeat, but the way in which the Church serves as the necessary provisional witness to the kingdom of God.

⁷⁵ Smith-Christopher, *A Biblical Theology of Exile*, 191. Walter Brueggemann, *Cadences of Home; Preaching among Exiles* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 1.

⁷⁶ David J. Reimer, “Exile, Diaspora, and Old Testament Theology,” *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 28, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 11, 15.

⁷⁷ Reimer, “Exile, Diaspora, and Old Testament Theology,” 15.

⁷⁸ Walter Brueggemann, *Disruptive Grace; Reflections on God, Scripture, and the Church* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2011), 289.

4. Emerging Theological Engagements with Migration

Against the longstanding tradition of understanding Christians as aliens on an earthly pilgrimage, emerging theological engagements with contemporary migration focus on the arduous journeys and experiences of migrants in new places. This “growing, yet still very sparse, literature on theology and migration” recognizes migrants as potent and necessary sites of theological reflection, and understands migrants among “the signs of the times.”⁷⁹ Gustavo Gutiérrez warns “that the signs of the times are not only a call to intellectual analysis,” but “are above all a call to pastoral activity, to commitment, and to service.”⁸⁰ Emerging theological engagements with migration heed this claim by asserting the necessity of extending justice and hospitality to migrants based on what they reveal to the world about God and human existence in the world.

Daniel Groody frames the experiences of migrants in the light of God’s migration to earth in Jesus Christ to assert ethical love and justice towards migrants.⁸¹ Groody and other contemporary theologians’ reflections on migration frequently emphasize the arduous journeys of migrants and the injustices they suffer in receiving nations, and subsequently interpret theological significance within those experiences. Groody, for example, describes the harrowing journeys of migrants through the Sonoran Desert from Mexico to the United States as a willingness “to descend into the depths of hell in the desert for the people they love,” and asserts that “within their particular stories of hunger, thirst, estrangement, nakedness, sickness, and imprisonment we can begin to see the face of a crucified Christ (Matthew 25:31-26:2).”⁸² Most significant for Groody, however, is the incarnation, which he frames as “the belief that God migrated to humanity so all of us in turn could migrate back

⁷⁹ Cruz, *Toward a Theology of Migration; Social Justice and Religious Experience*, 7.

References to migrants among “the signs of the times,” include Mary DeLorey, “International Migration: Social, Economic, and Humanitarian Considerations,” in *And You Welcomed Me; Migration and Catholic Social Teaching*, ed. Donald Kerwin, Jill Marie Gerschutz (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2009), 31; Groody, “Crossing the Divide,” 641.

⁸⁰ Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, 7.

⁸¹ Daniel G. Groody, “The Spirituality of Migrants: Mapping an Inner Geography,” in *Contemporary Issues of Migration and Theology*, ed. Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan, *Christianities of the World* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 150.

⁸² Daniel G. Groody, *Border of Death, Valley of Life: An Immigrant Journey of Heart and Spirit*, Celebrating faith (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002), 33.

to God.”⁸³ The incarnation, for Groody, provides a lens through which the plight of migrants is to be theologically understood. According to Groody, “God in Jesus Christ so loved the world that he left his homeland and migrated into the far distant territory of humanity’s sinful and broken existence,” and that “there he laid down his life on a cross so that we could be reconciled with God and migrate back to our homeland, where there is peace, harmony, justice and life.”⁸⁴ Groody recognizes Jesus Christ as the paradigmatic migrant and establishes the foundations of a theology of migration by articulating four “crossings” revealed through the *Imago Dei*, *Verbum Dei*, *Missio Dei*, and *Visio Dei*.⁸⁵ While each of these highlights a slightly nuanced theological component, the driving force behind Groody’s entire theological framework is the migratory movement of God in Jesus Christ. Equating the *Verbum Dei* with Karl Barth’s description of “the way of the Son into the far country,” Groody conceptualizes a theology of migration through God’s “downward mobility” as demonstrated in Jesus Christ.⁸⁶ As I will discuss more fully in Chapter 7, Barth framed the incarnation as Jesus Christ’s journey into “the far country” by alluding to the journey of the Prodigal Son into a foreign land, asserting, “In being gracious to man in Jesus Christ, He also goes into the far country, into the evil society of this being which is not God and against God.”⁸⁷ The incarnation, according to Groody, is at the center of migration theology and frames the ways in which “the immigrant poor see their own story in the Jesus story, and from their story we can also reread the Jesus story.”⁸⁸

Arising from God’s “downward mobility” from heaven to earth in the incarnation of Jesus Christ, several theological reflections on migration develop an intercultural theology that recognizes Jesus Christ as the paradigmatic migrant

⁸³ Daniel G. Groody, “A Theology of Migration; A New Method For Understanding a God on the Move,” *America*, no. February 7 (2011): 19. Groody asserts the same theme in Groody, “The Spirituality of Migrants: Mapping an Inner Geography,” 141.

⁸⁴ Groody, “A Theology of Migration; A New Method For Understanding a God on the Move,” 20.

⁸⁵ Groody, “Crossing the Divide,” 642.

⁸⁶ Groody, “Crossing the Divide,” 649.

⁸⁷ Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, ed. G.W. Bromiley, T.F. Torrance, Study ed., vol. IV.1, *The Doctrine of Reconciliation* §57-59 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), [158]: 151.

⁸⁸ Groody, “The Spirituality of Migrants: Mapping an Inner Geography,” 150.

because he “dwelt between the borders of two worlds.”⁸⁹ Peter Phan asserts that “because his multiple border-crossings were a threat to those who occupied the economic, political, and religious centers of power,” Jesus Christ “was hung upon the cross, between heaven and earth, between the cosmic borders, a migrant until the end.”⁹⁰ According to intercultural theology as it relates to migration, Jesus’s existence between heaven and earth lends significance to the existence of migrants between their places of origin and where they now reside. Migrants, like Jesus, are understood as inhabiting “a ‘betwixt-and-between’ situation,” because “they live, move, and have their being between two cultures, their own and that of the host country” and “in this ‘in-between’ predicament, they belong to neither culture fully yet participate in both.”⁹¹ Migrants experience a “double belonging, the experience of being in-between and in-both, or in other cases double denial, belonging neither to the territory of origin nor to the territory of destination.”⁹²

Virgilio Elizondo moves from an intercultural theology based upon Jesus Christ’s earthly and heavenly identities to one that focuses on Jesus’s Jewish and Galilean identities, and then transposes this dual identity to Mexican Americans. Elizondo asserts that “the human scandal of God’s way does not begin with the cross, but with the historico-cultural incarnation of his Son in Galilee,” and emphasizes that “Jesus was not simply a Jew, he was a Galilean Jew; throughout his life he and his disciples were identified as Galileans.”⁹³ Galilee, as interpreted by Elizondo, is a place on the periphery, which is where the *mestizo* exists.⁹⁴ Roberto Goizueta asserts alongside Elizondo that “the mestizo, ‘impure’ culture of the borderland is the privileged locus of God’s self-revelation.”⁹⁵ Peter Wade claims,

⁸⁹ Peter C. Phan, “Migration in the Patristic Era: History and Theology,” in *A Promised Land, A Perilous Journey: Theological Perspectives on Migration*, ed. Daniel G. Groody and Gioacchino Campese (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 58.

⁹⁰ Phan, “Migration in the Patristic Era: History and Theology,” 58.

⁹¹ Peter C. Phan, “The Experience of Migration as Source of Intercultural Theology,” in *Contemporary Issues of Migration and Theology*, ed. Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan, Christianities of the World (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 184.

⁹² Guerra, “A Theology of Migration: Toward an Intercultural Methodology,” 248.

⁹³ Virgilio P. Elizondo, *Galilean Journey: The Mexican-American Promise* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1983), 53, 49.

⁹⁴ Elizondo, *Galilean Journey: The Mexican-American Promise*, 69.

⁹⁵ Roberto S. Goizueta, “Corpus Verum”; Toward a Borderland Ecclessiology,” in *Building Bridges, Doing Justice: Construction a Latino/a Ecumenical Theology*, ed. Orlando Espín (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2009), 154.

“The recent emphasis on *mestizaje* as potentially subversive may indeed owe a good deal to theories about hybridity that cast it as a symbolic process that unsettles hierarchies, orthodoxies and purities, creating a ‘third space’ outside binary oppositions.”⁹⁶ Postcolonial theorists assert such an identity against the homogenizing myths of the nation-state that I referenced in relation to the denial of hybridity by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the first chapter. Describing the intercultural identity of *mestizajes*, Simon Kim claims, “The underlying theme of *mestizaje* has been and presumably always will be the coming together of two worlds,” and that “within this ‘mixture’ is a wealth of experiences that produce something more vibrant and life-giving for their own people and the Church.”⁹⁷ It is this intercultural element that Simon Kim argues is the difference between liberation theology and a specific theology of migration, and claims that “a theology of migration cannot limit itself to the context of origin, but at the same time it cannot limit itself to the context of the destination country.”⁹⁸ Whereas nation-states view hybridity, which is expressed here as intercultural theology, as a threat to national consciousness and identity, the Church embraces hybridity because it is located in Jesus Christ and fundamental to Christian identity. The identity of the Church as expressed in the New Testament Epistles, the *Epistle to Diognetus* and Augustine is one that understands Christians as “aliens and strangers on earth” (Heb. 11:13) while also being citizens of Philippi, Corinth, or Rome.

The theological reflections on migration that recognize Christ in the journey of migrants to new places or their experiences in those places provide important insights that demonstrate the relevance of scripture and theology to migration. By recognizing Jesus Christ within the perilous journeys and precarious existence of migrants within receiving nations, they understand the experiences of migrants to be a site of the sacred, where Jesus Christ is encountered. The risk that these emerging theological reflections on migration run, however, is the unintentional romanticizing

⁹⁶ Peter Wade, “‘Mestizaje’: Ideology and Lived Experience,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 37, no. 2 (May 2005): 242.

⁹⁷ Simon C. Kim, *An Immigration of Theology; Theology of Context as the Theological Method of Virgilio Elizondo and Gustavo Gutiérrez* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 4.

⁹⁸ Kim, *An Immigration of Theology; Theology of Context as the Theological Method of Virgilio Elizondo and Gustavo Gutiérrez*, 220.

of the migrant. Rather than identifying migration a site of the sacred because that is where migrants find God or reenact aspects of Jesus's trials as one with *nowhere to lay his head* (Lk. 9:58), I contend that these theological reflections must be clearer in describing migration as a site of the sacred because that is where Jesus finds the vulnerable and the oppressed.

5. Conclusion

So far this thesis has addressed a political lacuna in the contradictions of economic liberalism and territorial sovereignty, and a theological lacuna between theological engagements with the biblical terminology of migration and emerging theological reflections on migration. Within the following chapters, I shall proceed to utilize my methodology to address both lacunae simultaneously by developing a theological ethics of migration that asserts the hospitable care of migrants while seeking to reclaim the relevance of scripture for shaping ethics. Through allegory I seek not only to make an argument that asserts the need to care for migrants, but I do so in a way that acknowledges the challenges in doing so. Resulting from the fact that nation-states determine migration law, developing a theological ethics of migration is as much about how we relate to the nation-state as it is about how we extend care to the vulnerable and the oppressed. I now turn to my exegesis of four narratives of scripture that I will show are paradigmatic of the current migration crisis to develop the inclusion, and extension of aid and rescue to migrants, resulting from the interconnected nature of the world.

Part II: Exegetical Case Studies

Chapter 4: The Sojourn in Egypt: A Foundation and Framework

1. Introduction

The book of Exodus is significant to a theological ethics of migration not only because it narrates the most famous mass migration event in scripture, but because it remains a vital source for those proclaiming the necessity to break free from empire. In this chapter, I examine allegorical interpretations of the Exodus event and its surrounding context to reveal how migration is not an *ex nihilo* issue arising at the border of sovereign nation-states, but an outcome of the interconnected nature of the world. By engaging the surrounding context of the Exodus event, and particularly famine and the policies Egypt implemented through Joseph, I argue that scripture is a relevant source for gaining insight into the push and pull factors that compel migration. The allegorical interpretations of patristic exegesis uncover theological themes that represent a movement from sin and death to life, and the tropological implications of extending aid and rescue that arise from these interpretations challenge individuals and the Church to question the state as a simulacrum for God and faith. Breaking free from this simulacra and recognizing the falsity of explanatory nationalism shapes the hospitality that I argue should be extended to migrants by the Church.

After engaging allegorical interpretations of the Exodus event and its surrounding context in patristic exegesis, I highlight how the tropological claims later utilized by Martin Luther King Jr. during the American Civil Rights Movement and liberation theologians in Latin America arise from the intersection of historical, allegorical, and anagogical interpretations of Exodus as demonstrated in patristic exegesis. Allegorical interpretations of the Exodus event and its surrounding context not only reveal the necessity to reclaim God against false simulacra that maintain the false doctrine of explanatory nationalism, but shape claims that the Church must seek to extend rescue, aid, and hospitality to those in need.

2. The Relevancy of Biblical Migration

At the time of writing, Europe is in the midst of its greatest refugee crisis since the Second World War.¹ Thousands of refugees occupy camps along the Syrian border and thousands more have embarked on dangerous journeys by foot, taxi, and rail into Europe, while others have taken to rickety boats across the Mediterranean Sea. Numerous media reports describe this mass migration as being of biblical proportions and a modern day exodus.² Contemporary utilizations of the term, exodus, however, are in my view, endemic of modern failures to grasp the complexities of migration. By narrowly portraying a one-way journey toward the West that obscures global participation in the creation of the push and pull factors of migration, I argue that modern understandings of migration adhere to an explanatory nationalism that strictly interprets the causes of migration as the result of circumstances arising within sending nations. In this chapter, I engage the surrounding context of the Exodus event to refute explanatory nationalism, and argue that migration reveals the interconnected nature of the world. Owing to the interconnected nature of the world revealed in both biblical and contemporary migration and famine, contemporary utilizations of the term “exodus” are far more applicable and accurate than those currently using it are aware.

The Exodus event is the “paradigmatic salvation event of the Old Testament,” and fundamental to the identity of the Israelites and their hospitable treatment of aliens.³ God instructed the Israelites, *You shall not oppress a resident alien; you know the heart of an alien, for you were aliens in the land of Egypt* (Ex. 23:9), and repeated this command on numerous occasions in the Hebrew Bible.⁴ The

¹ UNHCR, “World at War; UNHCR Global Trends; Forced Displacement in 2014”. 5.

² Paul Collier refers to Exodus in the title of his New York Times Bestseller, Collier, *Exodus: How Migration Is Changing Our World*. Nigel Farage, leader of the United Kingdom Independence Party identifies the current European Migration Crisis says that the EU has “opened the door to an exodus of biblical proportions,” in Michael Wilkinson, “Nigel Farage: EU has Opened Doors to Migration Exodus of Biblical Proportions,” *The Telegraph*, Sep. 1, 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/nigel-farage/11836131/Nigel-Farage-EU-has-opened-doors-to-migration-exodus-of-biblical-proportions.html> (accessed on April 16, 2016).

³ Miller, “Israel as Host to Strangers,” 559.

⁴ Verses in the Hebrew Bible directly linking care for the alien to the Israelite’s generational memory of being alien include: Ex. 20:2,10; Ex. 22:21; Ex. 23:9; Lev. 19:34; Dt. 5:14-15; Dt. 10:19; Dt. 24:17-18, Dt. 24:19-22. Reminding the Israelites of their identity of being aliens: Dt. 16:11-12. Commanding care for alien because of who God is, include: Gen. 17:8;

actual Exodus event is the mass migration of the Israelites from Egypt through the Red Sea, but it is dependent upon the surrounding context provided in the final chapters of the book of Genesis. I begin this chapter by depicting how biblical famine and the policies of empire employed by Egypt exemplify the interconnected nature of the world that is observable today. I argue that biblical famine is similar to modern famine, but moderns make God irrelevant in favor of scientific causes and solutions. While moderns rightly exonerate God from claims that God causes suffering or natural disaster, moderns also vindicate modern society by minimizing the role of human agency in contributing to the creation and impact of disasters and perpetuate this vicious cycle, for example by turning to geoengineering rather than mitigating climate change by using less fossil fuels.⁵ In light of this claim I argue that the biblical migration of the Israelites into Egypt provides insight into how contemporary migration to particular destinations results from sociopolitical and economic policies that create dependence. Resulting from the falsity of explanatory nationalism, I argue that receiving nation-states must take into account the ways they contribute to the push and pull factors of migration when making decisions on the admittance of migrants at their borders.

3. Migration as Revelation for the Interconnected World

Within scripture, *בָּרָא*, *famine*, compelled Abram to travel to Egypt (Gen. 12:10), Isaac to journey to Gerar (Gen. 26:1), Jacob to send his sons to Egypt to secure food (47:4), and the entire family of Joseph to settle in Egypt (Gen. 47:4). Significantly, each of these instances of famine-induced migration, alongside the journey of Elimelech and Naomi's family to Moab (Ruth 1:1) that is explored in the next chapter, created *גֵּר*, *resident aliens*, in foreign lands. In addition to these instances of famine, other examples of famine-induced migration in scripture include Elijah journeying to the Kerith Ravine (1 Kgs. 17:1-6), the four men with leprosy putting their fate in the hands of the Arameans, a tribe at war with the city at whose

Gen. 23:4; Gen. 47:9; Lev. 19:10; Lev. 23:22; Lev. 25:23. Further, commands to care for the alien for a blessing: Dt. 14:29; Jer. 7:6-7. Punishment for not caring for alien: Dt. 27:19; Zech. 7:8-14. General commands to care for or extend equal treatment to the alien: Ex. 23:12; Num. 9:14; Num. 15:14-16, 26, 29-30; Num. 35:15; Dt. 1:16; Dt. 16:14; Dt. 24:14; Dt. 26:11-12.

⁵ Northcott, *A Political Theology of Climate Change*, 93.

gates they dwelt (2 Kgs. 7:5), Elisha instructing a woman and her son, whom he restored to life, to sojourn owing to oncoming famine (2 Kings 8:1), and the Prodigal Son's journey back to his father's home (Lk. 15:17-18).⁶ Famine is among "the greatest of disasters," and the book of Lamentations asserts, *Happier were those pierced by the sword than those pierced by hunger, whose life drains away, deprived of the produce of the field* (4:9).⁷ Describing some of the dire circumstances that famine created, the Bible cites the cries of hungry children (Lam. 4:4), fainting in the streets (Isa. 51:20), and most horrifically, cannibalism (Deut. 28:53-54; 2 Kings 6:28-29).⁸ Perhaps the four lepers at the city gates best articulate the desperate situations of famine when they reason to one another, "If we say, 'Let us enter the city,' the famine is in the city, and we shall die there; but if we sit here, we shall also die. Therefore, let us desert to the Aramean camp; if they spare our lives, we shall live; and if they kill us, we shall but die" (2 Kings 7:4). While life as a resident alien is uncertain, it is still life, and all life contains potential and hope for the better.

Biblical famine is cited as the result of natural and unexplainable causes such as drought, human actions such as siege and warfare, and punishment from God.⁹ While modern understandings of famine acknowledge human culpability for creating famine through direct causal events such as siege and warfare, of which famine can be recognized as a direct consequence, in other instances, moderns detach humanity from a dynamic relationship with the earth and refuse see human culpability across

⁶ Additionally, Ahab instructed Obadiah, "Go throughout the land to all the springs of water and to all the wadis; perhaps we may find grass to keep the horses and mules alive, and not lose some of the animals" (1 Kgs. 18:5). See footnote 9 in this chapter for further references to famine in the Hebrew Bible, Gospel of Matthew, and Epistle to the Romans.

⁷ Alice Hunt Hudiburg, "Famine," in *Book Famine* ed. David Noel Freedman, Allen C. Myers, Astrid B. Beck, Series Famine (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2000), 455.

⁸ Ronald Youngblood, F.F. Bruce, and R.K. Harrison, *Unlock the Bible; Keys to Exploring the Culture and Times* (Thomas Nelson, 2012), 101. Horrific circumstances arising from famine are found in 2 Kgs. 6:28-29; Lam. 2:19-20, 4:4-10.

⁹ Famine is well documented in the Bible. Famine without cause is found in Gen. 12:10, 26:1; Ruth 1:1. Famine from the fault of a person is found in 2 Sam. 21:1. Famine from a lack of rain is found in 1 Kgs. 18:1-2; Hag. 1:1-11. Famine resulting from a siege during war is found in 2 Kgs. 6:24-7:20, 25:3; Famine arising from God's action is found in Gen. 41:28-32; Lev. 26:20; Isa. 3:1; Zech. 14:17-18; Amos 4:6-10, and as a warning in Dt. 11:16-17. Famine occurring alongside sword and plague, or some combination, is found in Jer. 14:12, 29:17-18; Isa. 51:19; Ezek. 6:11; Mt. 24:7; Rom. 8:35.

borders through climate change or economic arrangements.¹⁰ Moderns scientifically explain what were once the unexplainable causes of famine, such as drought, but do so in ways that disregard human contributions through the environment. Brian Murton describes how “Once, ‘acts of God’ and ‘freaks of nature’ were seen as self-sufficient explanations for why people hungered and died,” but “today, writers on the causes of famine are more disposed to see these as only precipitating or contributory factors, and, increasingly, famine has come to be regarded as a complex phenomenon, more a symptom than a cause.”¹¹ While natural environmental factors, such as drought, contribute to famine, in the global economy of the modern world, natural forces can never be the sole cause, and even drought “always has a manmade dimension and is never simply natural disaster.”¹² The World Food Programme (WFP) of the United Nations asserts that “the world produces enough to feed the entire population of 7 billion people. And yet, one person in eight on the planet goes to bed hungry each night. In some countries, one in three is underweight,” and subsequently ask, “why does hunger exist?”¹³ While globalization enables higher levels of international aid through increased awareness and improved routes and systems for food delivery across great distances, it also results in famine arising from actions taken outside the regions where famine occurs.¹⁴ The WFP cites vicious cycles of poverty, shortages of investment in agriculture, climate change, war and displacement, unstable markets, and food wastage as the six most important factors contributing to hunger.¹⁵ Crop failure and drought can certainly contribute to the famine, but globalization and human action play key roles. “Contemporary famines are inherently political,” and as Oliver Rubin explains, “although they can be

¹⁰ For an examination of this see, Northcott, *A Political Theology of Climate Change*, 44-47.

¹¹ Brian Murton, “VI.4/Famine,” in *The Cambridge World History of Food*, ed. Kenneth F. and Kriemhild Conneè Ornelas Kiple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1419.

¹² Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (London: Verso, 2001), 18.

¹³ World Food Programme, “What Causes Hunger?,” <http://www.wfp.org/hunger/causes>, (accessed on April 26, 2016).

¹⁴ Cormac Ó Gráda, “Making Famine History,” *Journal of Economic Literature* 45, no. 1 (Mar. 2007): 10, 17; Stephen Devereux, “Introduction: From ‘Old Famines’ to ‘New Famines,’” in *The New Famines: Why Famines Persist in an Era of Globalization*, ed. Stephen Devereux (London: Routledge, 2007), 23.

¹⁵ World Food Programme, “What Causes Hunger?”.

triggered by economic shocks or natural disasters, their underlying causes are increasingly intertwined in political agendas and power struggles.”¹⁶

The causes of famine do not arise in an isolated vacuum within national borders, but through a convoluted web of economic and political interactions between nation-states. While the causes of premodern famines may have been more localized, owing to premodern engineering and technology, “globalization introduced a new dimension to famine,” and “as economies become more and more connected and interdependent, an economic crisis in one place spilled over, not only into neighbouring regions, but also into distant places.”¹⁷ Amartya Sen identifies widespread causes of famine and dispels the myth that famines arise simply from the inability to produce food, arguing rather that it results from a failure of entitlements.¹⁸ In opposition to a Malthusian theory of famine that understood famine as a response to overpopulation, Sen identified the role of local economies, which are increasingly dependent upon national and international economic and political structures in the degree of their ability to buy food. Sen provides an economic argument recognizing that “the crucial fact is that in an exchange economy the ‘distribution’ of a particular commodity is the result of exchange, and whether a family has something to eat depends on what it can sell and the prices that are fetched by what it can sell in comparison with the prices of food.”¹⁹ Referencing the Bengal, Sahel, and Ethiopian famines, Sen argues, “starvation—as discussed—is a function of entitlements and not of food availability as such. Indeed, some of the

¹⁶ Oliver Rubin, *Contemporary Famine Analysis*, Spring Briefs in Political Science (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 81.

¹⁷ Bryan S. Turner, Habibul Haque Khondker, *Globalization; East and West* (London: Sage Publications, 2010), 155. Habibul Khondker references the famines in Bangladesh, Sudan, and Somalia in 2008, and that “Ethiopia, according to one media report, faced a ‘toxic cocktail’ of global inflation, armed conflict, and associated plagues that threaten fourteen million people who are in need of food aid,” in Habibul Khondker, “Globalization, Disasters and Disaster Responses,” in *The Routledge International Handbook of Globalization Studies*, ed. Bryan S. Turner (London: Routledge, 2010), 234.

¹⁸ Sen provides a chilling example, stating, “In fact, in guarding ownership rights against the demands of the hungry, the legal forces uphold entitlements; for example, in the Bengal famine of 1943 the people who died in front of well-stocked food shops protected by the state were denied food because of *lack* of legal entitlement, and not because their entitlements were violated,” in Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 49.

¹⁹ Amartya Sen, “Famines as Failures of Exchange Entitlements,” *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol. 11, no. No. 31/33, Special Number: Population and Poverty (Aug. 1976): 1273.

worst famines have taken place with no significant decline in food availability per head.”²⁰ Despite Sen’s entitlement theory of famine, modern conceptions of famine fail to connect the global sociopolitical and economic causes of famine to the actions of specific economies and nations, or the individuals who live and operate within those systems. Instead, the modern mindset understands the economy as “an invisible hand” operating independently of human action, and even theories of entitlement become detached from human participation.²¹

While modern understandings of famine recognize complex causes of famine, and do not simply blame God for bad weather, moderns paradoxically understand famine as a “neutral, blame-free event, when it is seen as a natural or an economic disaster.”²² BBC reporter, Michael Buerk, for example, described the Ethiopian famine as “a biblical famine now in the twentieth century,” which Suzanne Franks cites as a perpetuation of the notion that “the idea that this [famine] was a natural catastrophe that had been visited upon the land, like an Act of God.”²³ While modern notions of famine, and even natural disaster, rightly do not blame God, they are victim to another simplification.²⁴ Strict scientific conceptions of famine apply modern understandings that seek solutions in isolated avenues, and “modernity’s account of famines is predicated on a view of ‘man’ continually struggling with an adversarial nature.”²⁵ During and after the Enlightenment, “the way in which the world was understood and acted upon was reimagined as a series of discrete spheres or domains—namely, economy, society, and politics—each with its own separate patterns, regularities, and norms,” and as James Vernon points out, “The critical point is that these domains were severed ontologically, so that the market was left to

²⁰ Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines*, 7.

²¹ I made this argument in Chapter 1, Section 5. For the “invisible hand,” see, Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of the Nations*, 1, Book IV.ii.9: 456.

²² Jenny Edkins, *Whose Hunger? Concepts of Famine, Practices of Aid* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 26.

²³ Suzanne Franks, *Reporting Disasters; Famine, Aid, Politics and the Media* (London: Hurst & Company, 2013), 90.

²⁴ An excellent resource on God and natural disaster is David Bentley Hart, *The Doors of the Sea; Where Was God in the Tsunami?* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005). Hart criticizes those who label God as the cause of disaster today.

²⁵ Edkins, *Whose Hunger? Concepts of Famine, Practices of Aid*, 33.

operate free of either social or political questions.”²⁶ In this way, human agency is separated from nature, and rather than nature being understood to be in symbiotic relationship with humanity, it is conquered and used. Humanity recognizes its responsibility for causing harm when it is done directly to another human, but fails to acknowledge harm that is caused when harm is the result of their dynamic relationship to nature. Rather than abiding by this disconnect between human action and environmental impact, a postmodern turn to scripture depicts the interconnected nature of the world as revealed in famine and acknowledges that harm can be done directly between humans and also between humans through nature. The “invisible hand” is not an unexplainable force outside human control, like the Holy Spirit, but rather an exonerating force that obfuscates human culpability. While vindicating God as the cause of famine, modern notions too easily exonerate humanity as well by obfuscating human agency behind the veil of economic and political systems.

The postmodern notion of famine presented in this section acknowledges the possibility of human culpability in creating adverse circumstances that result in famine, whether through drought caused by climate change or the failure of entitlements caused by political and economic interactions. While developed nations have exerted historic impact on the developing world through colonialism, economic dependency, and now, climate change, “explanatory nationalism” remains the guiding theoretical framework. Through explanatory nationalism, “the idea that the causes of severe poverty and of other human deprivations are domestic to the societies in which they occur,” nations refuse to acknowledge their contributions to creating the conditions that compel and shape migration.²⁷ Explanatory nationalism “diverts attention from the question of how we ourselves might be involved, causally and morally,” by arguing that circumstances that create or sustain poverty arise strictly within those countries.²⁸ Subscribing to the closed domestic structures of social contract theories, explanatory nationalism does not account for inequalities that occur outside of the circumscribed community of the social contract. In contrast

²⁶ James Vernon, *Hunger: A Modern History* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 13.

²⁷ Pogge, "Do Rawls's Two Theories of Justice Fit Together?," 217.

²⁸ Thomas W. Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms*, 55.

to this nationalistic focus, however, I argue that famine, as depicted in the Hebrew Bible, and experienced today, reveals the falsity of explanatory nationalism by demonstrating how local action can exert global impact through the interconnected nature of the world. In contrast to the social contract theories already examined in Part I, I present a theological understanding of the cosmos from the Hebrew Bible as a way to conceptualize the interconnected nature of the world. This understanding shapes reactions to migrants in ways that account for the falsity of explanatory nationalism and the subsequent duties to hospitably respond to migrants.

Understanding famine-induced migration as a “sign of the times” and revelation for the interconnected nature of the world shatters the illusions of explanatory nationalism within the social contracts arising before and during the Enlightenment.²⁹ In contrast to “the disembedded Enlightenment self” of the modern world, the ancient Hebrews recognized a “fundamental interactive account of the relations between the human self, the social order and natural ecological order, and between all of these and the being of God.”³⁰ Theological understandings of famine reflect the dynamic relationship between humanity and nature demonstrated in the Hebrew Bible, and as Terence Fretheim acknowledges, “the just ordering of society—reflected in its laws—was brought into close relationship with the creation of the world.”³¹ While moderns are correct in exonerating God as the cause of famine and natural disaster, breaking biblical commands and laws violates the relationship with God, and also the earth. Fretheim identifies the breaking of laws as “a breach of the order of creation,” and recognizes that “it had dire consequences on all aspects of the world order, not least the sphere of nature, threatening the world with chaos. There is thus a symbolic relationship of ethical order and cosmic order.”³² In support of this view, Fretheim asserts that “the biblical language for judgment pushes in a different direction; it refers to the effects of human sin, not a penalty or punishment that God pronounces on the situation or ‘sends’ on the

²⁹ “Gaudium Et Spes; Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World,” Vatican, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html, (accessed on April 26, 2016).

³⁰ Michael S. Northcott, *The Environment and Christian Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 71, 164.

³¹ Terrence E. Fretheim, “The Plagues as Ecological Signs of Historical Disaster,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 110, no. 3 (Autumn 1991): 385.

³² Fretheim, “The Plagues as Ecological Signs of Historical Disaster,” 385.

perpetrators.”³³ Fretheim articulates the symbiotic and interconnected nature of the world that I am arguing for by recognizing “that sins have effects [which] is testimony to the way in which God made the world: human deeds have effects, for good or for ill.”³⁴ As Michael Northcott argues, “In Hebrew myth, nature and culture are not separate realms,” and “the Hebrew covenant was a cosmic covenant between God and human beings in which the land and its nonhuman inhabitants were included as moral subjects, and fidelity to the covenant involved their respectful use according to the terms of the covenant.”³⁵ The “modern moral climate” fails to recognize how the earth responds to human action, and that humanity, and more especially the human material economy, is in a dynamic relationship with the earth.³⁶ In contrast to the disembedding nature of the modern economy, ancient Hebrews recognized the “fundamental interactive account of the relations between the human self, the social order and natural ecological order, and between all of these and the being of God.”³⁷ The laws of ancient Israel that governed relationships to the land, the impoverished, and the alien, worked within “cosmic infrastructures that provide both stability and sustenance.”³⁸

This understanding of the cosmos demonstrates the falsity of explanatory nationalism by recognizing the political, economic, and ecological impact that is exerted across borders. Rather than circumscribing the responsibility to be accountable for actions within the borders of nation-states, I argue that there are concomitant responsibilities to those who bear the impact of these actions. Famine reveals the interconnected and symbiotic nature of the world, thereby disproving the explanatory nationalism that is vital to perpetuating false belief in the closed, self-sufficient communities of social contract theory. Against social contract theory’s adherence to explanatory nationalism and belief in self-sufficient communities,

³³ Terrence E. Fretheim, *Creation Untamed; The Bible, God, and Natural Disasters*, Theological Explorations for the Church Catholic (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2010), 49.

³⁴ Fretheim, *Creation Untamed; The Bible, God, and Natural Disasters*, 49.

³⁵ Northcott, *A Political Theology of Climate Change*, 115.

³⁶ Michael S. Northcott, *A Moral Climate: The Ethics of Global Warming* (London: Darton Longman & Todd, 2007), 70.

³⁷ Northcott, *The Environment and Christian Ethics*, 164.

³⁸ William P. Brown, “The Moral Cosmologies of Creation,” in *Character Ethics and the Old Testament: Moral Dimensions of Scripture*, ed. M. Daniel Carroll R and Jacqueline E. Lapsley (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 16.

migration does not occur *ex nihilo* but results from local action that exerts global impact. With this realization, I argue that there are responsibilities that extend beyond the borders of sovereign nation-states. This understanding of famine represents how migration is not an *ex nihilo* issue spontaneously arising at the borders of detached and sovereign nation-states, but reveals the interconnected nature of the world.

4. Joseph and Egypt: Paradigmatic of Contemporary Migration

After his brothers sold him into slavery, Joseph rose to a position of leadership in Pharaoh's household and fortified Egypt against famine (Gen. 41:54).³⁹ Rather than focusing on Joseph's reunification with his father and brothers, I utilize this narrative as a framework for understanding certain pull factors in contemporary migration. During a time of prolonged famine, *all the countries came to buy grain from Joseph, because the famine was severe in all the world* (Gen. 41:57), and *Israel's sons were among those who went to buy grain, for the famine was in the land of Canaan also* (Gen. 42:5). Through Joseph's leadership, Egypt not only avoided starvation and impoverishment during seven years of famine, but also acquired all the money, livestock, and land of the hungry in exchange for life-saving aid in the form of food to the famished (Gen. 47:15-23). While Joseph's foresight and economic policies ensured that Egypt, as well as Israel and the surrounding nations, survived famine, the rescued nations became indebted and dependent upon Egypt. Northcott lauds Joseph's forward-looking leadership, which took immediate steps to minimize the catastrophe of pending famine, but also recognizes "a dark side to the Joseph saga," as Egypt ensnared the surrounding nations into exploitative economic policies.⁴⁰ The food accumulated during times of plenty became "an economic tool and a political weapon that leverages the Egyptian population (Gen. 47:13-20)" over the populations of the surrounding nations that were critically

³⁹ Joseph's wisdom in strengthening Egypt against famine demonstrates positive contributions of immigrants in receiving societies and his marriage to Asenath (Gen. 41:45) demonstrates the hybridity of cultures. In the following chapter, I will engage these issues as they relate to Ruth the Moabite marrying a one of the sons of Elimelech and Naomi, and later Boaz, and her subsequent contributions to life Bethlehem.

⁴⁰ Northcott, *A Moral Climate: The Ethics of Global Warming*, 76-77.

dependent upon aid and rescue during severe famine.⁴¹ Representing the ongoing dependence created by economic policies, Richard Horsley interprets the one-fifth of the harvest returned to Pharaoh (Gen. 47:24) as one-fifth of their GDP, and Jack Nelson-Pallmeyer asserts that Joseph's policies "would have made any IMF structural adjustment broker proud."⁴²

As is signified by the debt of third world nations and uneven economic advantages of developed nations, the contemporary situation of millions of people in the developing world resembles that of the surrounding nations to Egypt. Dependency theorists claim that "the underdevelopment of Third World countries was a result of the exploitation of their resources (including labour) through colonialism, while in the postcolonial period dependency was being exacerbated by unfair terms of trade with powerful developed economies."⁴³ Recognizing unequal terms of trade between nations, dependency theorists argue that there is an inherent unfairness masked by "the invisible hand" of free market capitalism.⁴⁴ "Whereas [Adam] Smith had preached the comforting doctrine that the 'invisible hand' of capitalist competition would produce an indefinite increase of wealth among the nations," Norman Etherington suggests that "dependency theorists propose that an invisible hand of unequal exchange relationships indefinitely holds the peasant masses in a state of backwardness."⁴⁵ Rather than nations beginning from some theoretical original position in which all parties are equal, the modern economic structure is imposed upon nations with distinct histories that include colonialism, slavery, and other exploitative practices. Returning to some fictional position of equality for the sake of determining justice and fairness is impossible without drastic corrective measures. For example, when colonizing powers halted protectionist

⁴¹ Walter Brueggemann, "A Fourth-Generation Sellout; A Sermon," in *The Collected Sermons of Walter Brueggemann* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011), 165.

⁴² Richard A Horsley, *Jesus and the Powers; Conflict, Covenant, and the Hope of the Poor* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2011), 22. Jack Nelson-Pallmeyer, *Saving Christianity From Empire* (New York, NY: Continuum, 2005), 112.

⁴³ Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 26.

⁴⁴ Kenneth E. Bauzon, "Development Studies: Contending Approaches and Research," in *Development and Democratization in the Third World: Myths, Hopes, and Realities*, ed. Kenneth E. Bauzon (Washington, D.C.: Taylor & Francis, 1992), 42.

⁴⁵ Norman Etherington, *Theories of Imperialism; War, Conquest and Capital* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1984), 259.

trading strategies with former colonies in favor of the neoliberal trading policies of Adam Smith described in the first chapter, what was a theoretical move towards mutual advantage on a global scale, was in reality, an exacerbation of existing inequalities between developing and developed countries.⁴⁶ Further, the continual repayment of debt accrued in trying to implement frequently unsuccessful development schemes during the 1970s resulted in developing nations needing to divert domestic investment to the servicing of loans, and “the scale of debt servicing means that the South now exports more capital to the North than it receives back from the North in aid, loans, inward private investment and export earnings.”⁴⁷ Returning to the Joseph narrative as a precursor to contemporary dependency theory, Horsley claims that Joseph’s actions “would be called extortion on a grand scale were it not so familiar from the practices of contemporary megacorporations that manipulate supply and demand while ostensibly operating under the sacred impersonal ‘law’ of supply and demand.”⁴⁸

The impact of traditional receiving nations upon today's sending nations is felt not only through economic systems in which the poorest countries are languishing in debt crises, but environmentally, as the most impoverished are the least able to shield themselves from climate change.⁴⁹ The famine that compelled

⁴⁶ Paul Valley, *Bad Samaritans; First World Ethics and Third World Debt* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1990), 92. Douglas Massey asserts, “Because political power is unequally distributed across nations, the expansion of global capitalism acted to perpetuate inequalities and reinforce a stratified economic order,” and continues, “Rather than experiencing an inexorable progression towards development and modernization, poor countries in reality were trapped by their disadvantaged position within an unequal geopolitical structure, which perpetuated their poverty,” in Massey, *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*, 34.

⁴⁷ Northcott, *Life After Debt; Christianity and Global Justice*, 14.

⁴⁸ Horsley, *Jesus and the Powers; Conflict, Covenant, and the Hope of the Poor*, 22.

⁴⁹ One study states, “Vulnerability and poverty are often interrelated because both the likelihood of exposure to stresses is greater among the poor and because a large proportion of their resources are spent either purchasing or producing food, thereby reducing their capacity to cope with perturbations,” in P.J. Gregory, J.S.I. Ingram, M. Bklacich, “Climate Change and Food Security,” *Philosophical Transactions: Biological Sciences* Vol. 360, no. 1463; Food Crops in a Changing Climate (Nov. 2005): 2142. Another states simply, “Overall, the poor will suffer the bulk of the damages from climate change, whereas the richest countries will likely benefit,” in Robert Mendelsohn, Ariel Dinar, Larry Williams, “The Distributional Impact of Climate Change on Rich and Poor Countries,” *Environment and Development Economics* Vol. 11 (2006): 173. One study states, “In an especially cruel twist of fate, the most affected countries will be and large be those that have contributed the least to global greenhouse gas concentrations and are the poorest in the world,” in Jody

Israel to migrate to Egypt and the economic policies that made the surrounding nations dependent upon Egypt are demonstrative of the ongoing impact that is unequally exerted upon developed and developing nations today. As Northcott asserts, "Even as many of the colonists have withdrawn to their homelands and granted their former colonies political, if not economic, independence, the peoples of the South are becoming aware that their skies are now overshadowed by a less tangible but still very real presence from the North."⁵⁰ Luca Marchiori and Ingma Schumacher highlight the fact that the International Energy Annual 2004 cites approximately 65% of the world's primary energy use as coming from North America, Europe, Japan, and China, compared to the least developed nations using only 5%.⁵¹ Further statistics of alarm cited include "the estimates provided by Enerdata in its Energy Statistics Yearbook [which] suggest that the European Union, North America, and Japan together account for close to 60% of annual world emissions [of greenhouse gases], even though they host only 16% of the world population."⁵² Despite these inequalities in energy consumption, "it is expected that the less-developed countries will have to face close to 80% of the world damages from climate change."⁵³ The impact of climate change is experienced throughout the world but developing nations are least able to shield themselves from its harsh impact, thereby perpetuating ongoing inequalities between the nations.⁵⁴ Addressing the unequal impact exerted upon the developing world by the developed world, Andrew Simms recalls his experience of asking World Bank economist Joseph Stiglitz whether the developed world was in some way indebted to the developing world for their unequal impact upon the environment. Simms asked Stiglitz, "Shouldn't we, the rich world, be paying the majority world much more ecological debt service for the increasingly severe weather events associated with global warming than they were paying us for questionable financial debts that the Bank was

Freeman, Andrew Guzman, "Climate Change and U.S. Interests," *Columbia Law Review* Vol. 109, no. 6 (Oct. 2009): 1535.

⁵⁰ Northcott, *A Moral Climate: The Ethics of Global Warming*, 84.

⁵¹ Marchiori, "When Nature Rebels," 572.

⁵² Marchiori, "When Nature Rebels," 572.

⁵³ Marchiori, "When Nature Rebels," 572.

⁵⁴ Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," 12.

equally responsible for?”⁵⁵ Describing the response, Simms recalls, “Laughter rippled around the room, some nervous, while other enjoyed the speaking panel’s obvious momentary discomfort. There was no official answer that they could give.”⁵⁶

5. Patristic Insights of Exodus: History, Allegory, and Anagogy

Patristic exegesis of the Exodus event described the threefold movement of the Israelites’ historical escape from Egypt, an allegorical escape of individuals from sin, and the anagogical movement of repentant believers towards heaven. Within this threefold movement, the tropological sense is expressed as God’s deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, which necessitated the ethical treatment of aliens in their midst. In addition to the context that resulted in Israel’s initial entrance into Egypt owing to famine, the context surrounding Moses’s birth demonstrates rescue and aid to aliens. Pharaoh’s daughter and the Hebrew midwives, Shiphrah and Puah, valued life more than Pharaoh’s edicts, and the midwives demonstrated a fear of God that superseded allegiance to Pharaoh (Ex. 1:17). Henri de Lubac described patristic exegesis of the Exodus event as expressing “the passage from the darkness of error to the light of truth; but it is also, indeed, the departure from this world in order to enter into the time to come.”⁵⁷ Patristic exegesis of the Exodus event expressed the countercultural witness of individuals and the Church through faith in Jesus Christ on earth as they await eschatological redemption. Through reclaiming humanity’s relationship with God against the false simulacra of the nation-state, Christians and the Church are guided to identify the falsity of explanatory nationalism and provide hospitality to migrants. In this way, anagogical interpretations exert tropological implications for the people of God in this world.

Exodus, according to patristic exegesis, signified departure from sin and death, and entrance into life with God. In addition to the physical and geographical movement of the Israelites between places, patristic exegesis identified the interior movement within people that reorients them to God. Patristic exegesis consistently interpreted Egypt as a place of literal slavery and allegorical bondage from which

⁵⁵ Andrew Simms, *Ecological Debt: The Health of the Planet and the Wealth of Nations* (London: Pluto, 2005), 91.

⁵⁶ Simms, *Ecological Debt: The Health of the Planet and the Wealth of Nations*, 91.

⁵⁷ de Lubac, *History and Spirit; The Understanding of Scripture according to Origen*, 160.

souls need liberation. Clement of Alexandria described Egypt as being “destitute of the divine word,” and Egypt, in every instance of patristic exegesis, was understood to be in opposition to God’s goodness.⁵⁸ Patristic exegesis identified Egypt, as not merely a single geopolitical power enslaving individuals and promoting sinful desires, but a force at work throughout the world. Jerome concisely asserted, “We apprehend the devil in Pharaoh [sic]; in his army we perceive demons; in the sea we discern baptism.”⁵⁹ Augustine interpreted Egypt as a sign of the world, and asserted that “Egypt, since it is said to mean affliction, or one who afflicteth, or one who oppresseth, is often used for an emblem of this world; from which we must spiritually withdraw....”⁶⁰ Augustine further developed this understanding in *The City of God*, by making distinctions between the heavenly and earthly cities, and understanding Christians as being on a pilgrimage in the world.⁶¹ Canaan, according to Augustine, is the “temporal land of promise,” and is interpreted anagogically, as shown when Augustine asserted,

Indeed, unless that land which was styled the land that flowed with milk and honey, signified something great, through which, as by a visible token, He was leading those who understood His wondrous works to invisible grace and the kingdom of heaven, they could not be blamed for scorning that land, whose temporal kingdom we also ought to esteem as nothing, that we may love that Jerusalem which is free, the mother of us all, which is in heaven, and truly to be desired.⁶²

The historical migration from Egypt to Canaan is allegorically interpreted as a movement from sin to grace, and eschatologically from earth to heaven.

Patristic exegesis allegorically understood the crossing of the Red Sea as baptism and the cleansing of evil and denial of the devil. Allegorically interpreting

⁵⁸ Clement of Alexandria, *The Miscellanies*, trans. William Wilson, vol. II, The Writings of Clement of Alexandria (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1869), 253.

⁵⁹ Jerome, "Homily 32, Psalm 105 (106)," in *The Homilies of Saint Jerome; The Fathers of the Church* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1964), 227.

⁶⁰ Augustine, ed. *Expositions on the Psalms*, vol. VIII, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956), Psalm CXIV: 550.

⁶¹ Augustine most clearly defines the people on pilgrimage and the distinction between earthly existence and the kingdom of heaven within *City of God*. Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, XIX.17: 947.

⁶² Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm CVI: 529.

the crossing of the Red Sea as the baptism of Jesus Christ in the Jordan River, Gregory of Nyssa argued,

The people passed over, and the Egyptian king with his host was engulfed, and by these actions this Sacrament was foretold. For even now, whensoever the people is in the water of regeneration, fleeing from Egypt, from the burden of sin, it is set free and saved; but the devil with his own servants (I mean, of course, the spirits of evil), is choked with grief, and perishes, deeming the salvation of men to be his own misfortune.⁶³

The same movement from sin and death to grace and life that was identified in the Exodus from Egypt through the Red Sea is enacted in the baptism of individuals. The Apostle Paul “pioneers the interpretation of the crossing of the Sea as a paradigm and symbol of Christian baptism,” proclaiming, *I do not want you to be unaware, brothers and sisters, that our ancestors were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea* (1 Cor. 10:1-2).⁶⁴ Origen eschatologically interpreted baptism, asserting, “Through the grace of baptism those who believe would be understood to be changed from men into a higher order, when the day of the resurrection arrives, when each of the saints shall be like the angels of God [cf. Matt. 22:30].”⁶⁵ Interpreting the Israelites’ collective crossing of the Red Sea as baptism establishes Israel as a new people en route to Canaan, and as the Ten Commandments established, this new community is governed in their relationships with others through their relationship with God.⁶⁶ The tropological sense of the Exodus event arises out of the anagogical sense of moving towards the Promised Land.

⁶³ Gregory of Nyssa, “On the Baptism of Christ,” in *Select Writings and Letters of Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa*, ed. Philip and Henry Wace Schaff, A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956), 522.

⁶⁴ William Johnstone, *Exodus 1-19*, vol. 1, Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys Publishing Inc., 2014), 289.

⁶⁵ Origen, *Commentary on Romans*, 3.1.12 as cited in Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church; History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2009), 415.

⁶⁶ The Ten Commandments (Ex. 20:2-17) govern the relationship of the Israelites with God in commandments one through four. Commandments four through ten are concerned with the relationship of the Israelites in a community that is ordered by God. The fourth commandment on the Sabbath directly connected worship of God and treatment of others, including *the alien resident in your towns* (Ex. 20:10).

Patristic exegesis allegorically interpreted the historical mass migration of the Israelites from Egypt as the escape from sin occurring within individuals. Before we can extend aid to others we have to orientate ourselves to God. Origen shifted the applicability of the Exodus event from a collective national scope to a personal concern by asserting, “But we, who have learned that all things which are written are written not to relate to ancient history, but for our discipline and use, understand that these things which are said also happen now not only in this world, which is figuratively called Egypt, but in each of us also.”⁶⁷ Demonstrating how patristic exegesis focused on individuals, Ambrose interpreted the slaying of an Egyptian taskmaster by Moses as the defeat of sin within himself. Ambrose claimed that Moses “would not have slain the Egyptian if he had not first destroyed in himself the Egyptian of spiritual wickedness and had not relinquished the luxuries of the king’s palace,” and that “he considered that the reproach of Christ was a far better patrimony than the treasures of Egypt.”⁶⁸ The repentance of sin that occurs within individuals impacts how they understand themselves in relation to the nation-state. Building upon patristic exegesis, when Moses turned from sin, he became an enemy of Pharaoh, and as William Cavanaugh urges Christians to remember,

The church must break its imagination out of captivity to the nation-state; it must constitute itself as an alternative to social space, and not simply rely on the nation-state to be its social presence; and the church must, at every opportunity, ‘complexify’ space, that is promote the creation of spaces in which alternative economies and authorities flourish.⁶⁹

The book of Exodus provides three powerful examples of women refusing to be defined by the nation-state, and who subsequently engaged in actions that were subversive to the nation-state. Pharaoh feared the growing number of Israelites in Egypt, and after increasing the labor thrust upon them, decreed that all the male children of the Israelites should be killed (Ex. 1:9-22). Shiphrah and Puah, midwives to the Hebrews, feared God and disobeyed Pharaoh’s command by allowing Moses to live (Ex. 1:17). Origen interpreted these two midwives as a “figure of the two

⁶⁷ Origen, "Homily II," in *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1982), 240.

⁶⁸ Ambrose, "Cain and Abel," in *Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel*, The Fathers of the Church; A New Translation (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1977), 415.

⁶⁹ Cavanaugh, "'Killing for the Telephone Company'," 42.

testaments,” claiming, “The souls, therefore, which are born in the Church are attended by these testaments as if by midwives, because the entire antidote of instruction is conferred on them from the reading of Scriptures.”⁷⁰ The midwives not only allowed Moses to live but granted life and ongoing nurture to the Church as the Old and New Testaments. Gregory of Nyssa allegorically identified Moses as the Law, and described his situation, asserting, “falling under the general and cruel decree which the hard-hearted Pharaoh made against the men-children, was exposed on the banks of the river—not naked, but laid in an ark, for it was fitting that the Law should typically be enclosed in a coffer.”⁷¹

Through interpretations of Pharaoh’s daughter, patristic exegesis allegorically portrayed the inclusion of the Gentiles among the Jews, and thereby affirmed the love of God for those outside the community.⁷² Origen interpreted Pharaoh’s daughter, who drew Moses, the Law, out of the Nile River, as the Gentile Church. Origen credited Pharaoh’s daughter with being one “who leaves her father’s house and comes to the waters to be washed from the sins which she had contracted in her father’s house,” and states, “The Church, therefore, coming to the waters of baptism, also took up the Law.”⁷³ The Apostle Paul asserted that it is “by faith in Christ, and not by doing the works of the law” that the Gentiles were incorporated into the Church (Gal. 2:16). Arguing that it is not by the Law that the Gentiles become part of the Church, Origen referenced how Moses, the Law, is raised by Israelites (Ex. 2:8-9).⁷⁴ Origen’s allegorical interpretation of Pharaoh’s daughter as the Gentile Church only works if Pharaoh’s daughter is distinguished from the rest of Pharaoh’s household, because Pharaoh’s household discovered neither the literal nor spiritual depth of the Law, and remained a house of bondage and oppression for Israel. The crossing of the Red Sea is the critical moment that transformed Moses, the Law, into the deliverance from sin through grace, and shifted life in servitude to Pharaoh and sin to a life lived on the sustenance of God alone. Pharaoh’s daughter is a powerful

⁷⁰ Origen, “Homily 1,” in *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1982), 242.

⁷¹ Nyssa, “On the Baptism of Christ,” 522.

⁷² Patristic exegesis allegorically interprets the inclusion of the Gentile Church in the book of Ruth, and the Good Samaritan and Prodigal Son parables.

⁷³ Origen, “Homily II,” 246, 247.

⁷⁴ Origen, “Homily 1,” 247.

example for departing from familial and national identities to give rescue and aid to someone in need. Pharaoh's daughter provided a home and sanctuary for a vulnerable child against the policies of the state, and whatever her motivations, she saw a life in need and provided aid within the very circumstances that sought to suppress life. Shiphrah and Puah, and Pharaoh's daughter are powerful examples for the Church, and while patristic exegesis does not offer the following interpretation, I argue that these women demonstrate the same aid and rescue that was enacted by the Good Samaritan, and allegorically represent the same saving grace provided by Jesus Christ.

6. Moving Towards the Promised Land: MLK Jr. and Justice

Martin Luther King Jr. utilized Exodus as a significant motif within his sermons, and employed allegory as a powerful homiletic tool for "elevating" the experiences of African Americans to a universal quest for justice demonstrated in scripture and enacted throughout history.⁷⁵ Through his use of allegorical preaching, King effectively emphasized the liberation of both those who are oppressed by the presence of injustice, as well as those who are considered the oppressors. In relation to this thesis, I identify King's allegorical preaching as identifying the need for receiving nation-states to break free from false simulacra, such as explanatory nationalism, and recognize their duty towards migrants. King interpreted racial inequality, segregation, and hostility and violence towards African Americans in the light of Israel's deliverance from Egypt. At the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City, King preached,

This [Exodus] story symbolizes something basic about the universe. It symbolizes something much deeper than the drowning of a few men, for no one can rejoice at the death or the defeat of a human person. This story, at bottom, symbolizes the death of evil. It was the death of inhuman oppression and ungodly exploitation.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Richard Lischer, *The Preacher King: Martin Luther King, Jr. and The Word That Moved America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995), 121.

⁷⁶ Martin Luther King Jr., "'The Death of Evil upon the Seashore,' Sermon Delivered at the Service of Prayer and Thanksgiving, Cathedral of St. John the Divine (17 May 1956)," in *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. Clayborne Carson (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 260.

Within King's allegorical utilizations of Exodus, Exodus does not represent a geographical migration between places, but the journey from oppression to freedom through the redeeming and salvific love of God that may occur with or without physical movement of either the oppressed or the oppressor. Exodus, therefore, occurs wherever oppression is overthrown and the inherent worth and rights of individuals are realized. King articulated allegorical interpretations of Exodus and their relevance to the Civil Rights Movement, asserting,

In our own struggle for freedom and justice in this country we have gradually seen the death of evil. Many years ago the Negro was thrown into the Egypt of segregation, and his great struggle has been to free himself from the crippling restrictions and paralyzing effects of this vicious system. For years it looked like he would never get out of this Egypt. The closed Red Sea always stood before him with discouraging dimensions. There were always those Pharaohs with hardened hearts, who, despite the cries of many a Moses, refused to let these people go. But one day, through a world shaking decree by the nine justices of the Supreme Court of America and an awakened moral conscience of many White persons of good will, backed up by the Providence of God, the Red Sea was opened, and the forces of justice marched through to the other side. As we look back we see segregation caught in the rushing waters of historical necessity. Evil in the form of injustice and exploitation cannot survive. There is a Red Sea in history that ultimately comes to carry the forces of goodness to victory, and that same Red Sea closes in to bring doom and destruction to the forces of evil."⁷⁷

Applying allegorical interpretations of the Exodus event to the experiences of African Americans in the South, King sought to develop the tropological sense, which demanded equality, through anagogical interpretations of Egypt as earth and the Promised Land as heaven. King believed the Church was the manifestation of God's desire for humanity and the world, and "his view of the kingdom of God compelled him to think in terms of a co-worker relationship between God and the church in the interest of improving the human condition."⁷⁸

Challenging inequality and segregation, King was a prophetic voice within the world and envisioned the Church as a counter-cultural witness for freedom and equality. Following the examples of Shiphrah and Puah, and Pharaoh's daughter, King stood in opposition to the state rather than abiding by its oppressive policies.

⁷⁷ King Jr., "'The Death of Evil upon the Seashore'" 261.

⁷⁸ Lewis V. Baldwin, *The Voice of Conscience; The Church in the Mind of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 81.

King “believed that the values and actions of the church, despite its shortcomings, should consistently represent a healthy alternative to the manipulative and often immoral policies and practices of the wider political culture of the nation.”⁷⁹ If this is applied to issues of migration, by following commands to care and love the alien in our midst, the Church provides a counter-cultural witness that is rooted in God, and not in the nation-state. Through the radical witness of the Church, the Church shows the world what it was meant to be.⁸⁰ Luke Bretherton asserts,

New birth commences the journey to this new home; however, the journey does not lead away from where they live, it leads them to the epicenter of their former home, for the house of God, although distinct from the world, is bursting the bounds of, and being erected in the midst of, their old home.⁸¹

King, though speaking to a particular movement in a particular time and place, preached a message that is applicable throughout the ages. One of the ways King and the church enacted a counter-cultural witness to the world was through their practice of nonviolence. James Cone describes how “through nonviolent suffering...blacks would not only liberate themselves from the necessity of bitterness and feeling of inferiority toward whites, but would also prick the conscience of whites and liberate them from a feeling of superiority,” and asserts that “the mutual liberation of blacks and whites lays the foundation for both to work together toward the creation of an entirely new world.”⁸² King sought liberation for African Americans suffering under unjust oppression, but he also sought liberation for their oppressors, claiming,

Let us remember that as we struggle against Egypt, we must have love, compassion and understanding goodwill for those whom we struggle, helping them to realize that as we seek to defeat the evils of Egypt we are not seeking to defeat them but to help them, as well as our ourselves.⁸³

Despite the many challenges and hardships King and the Civil Rights Movement faced, he maintained his practice of non-violence and argued for a transformation of

⁷⁹ Baldwin, *The Voice of Conscience*, 86.

⁸⁰ Hauerwas refers to the church as a “contrast model” in Hauerwas, *A Community of Character*, 50.

⁸¹ Luke Bretherton, *Hospitality as Holiness: Christian Witness Amid Moral Diversity* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2006), 111.

⁸² James H. Cone, “Black Theology in American Religion,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 53, no. No. 4, 75th Anniversary Meeting of the American Academy of Religion (Dec. 1985), 762.

⁸³ King Jr., “The Death of Evil upon the Seashore” 261.

humanity that was founded on his theological vision for a world that God created. King's theological vision for humanity was one where all people were equal because they were all created in the *imago Dei*. King "did not share their cynicism concerning the conversion of Pharaoh, especially during the earlier years of the civil rights movement," and "For King, the idea of liberation included the reconciliation of Egypt with its former oppressed citizenry."⁸⁴ The radical love of the Church not only seeks to rectify oppression and injustice, but to reconcile the world according to the love of God revealed in Jesus Christ.

Referencing the increasingly interconnected nature of the world, King argues that "man through his scientific genius has been able to dwarf distance and place time in chains; he has been able to carve highways through the stratosphere."⁸⁵ Replacing Kant's understanding of camels as the "*ships* of the deserts" with "highways through the stratosphere," King recast the cosmopolitan right and interconnected nature of the world in the struggle to establish universal rights and justice.⁸⁶ King expressed a cosmopolitan concern, asserting,

we are challenged to rise above the narrow confines of our individualistic concerns to the broader concerns of all humanity. The new world is a world of geographical togetherness. This means that no individual or nation can live alone. We must all learn to live together, or we will be forced to die together.⁸⁷

King applied the universal concern for the interconnected nature of the world gleaned from interpretations of famine to the issues of segregation and equality. Within his recognition "that all life is interrelated" and that we exist "in an

⁸⁴ Richard Wayne Wills Sr., *Martin Luther King Jr. and the Image of God* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 130.

⁸⁵ Martin Luther King Jr., "'Facing the Challenge of a New Age,' Address Delivered at the First Annual Institute on Nonviolence and Social Change (3 December 1956)," in *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. Clayborne Carson (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 456. He delivers the same message in Martin Luther King Jr., "'Remaining Awake Through a Great Revolution,' Address at Morehouse College Commencement (2 June 1959)," in *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. Clayborne Carson (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 223.

⁸⁶ Kant, "Toward Perpetual Peace (1795)," 329.

⁸⁷ King Jr., "'Facing the Challenge of a New Age'," 456.

inescapable network of mutuality,” King utilized communitarian sources and concepts to cultivate a universal concern for humanity.⁸⁸

King, similarly to Augustine, described a three-tier theory of concentric circles, beginning with the individual, expanding to humanity, and reaching to the heavens.⁸⁹ God, according to King, is essential for the love of humanity, and must shape the individual’s actions in both the private and public realms. King argued against restricting faith to the private realm like the political theorists of the Enlightenment, and also opposed the subversion of faith by commerce. Arguing against the “anthropocentric shift,” King argued for the necessity of reclaiming a “third dimension,” and asserted, “We become so involved in looking at the man-made lights of the city that we unconsciously forget to look up and think about that great cosmic light.”⁹⁰ The struggle of African Americans against systematized inequality in the American South provides hope for justice prevailing against oppression there and around the world. The crossing from inequality to equality represented the “two worlds—the dying old and the emerging new,” and the Exodus event signified the passing from sin to life, and bondage to freedom.⁹¹ Exodus, for King, framed this movement and provided hope for the future based on the liberating power of God revealed in history. King’s interpretations and applications of the Exodus event sought actual historical change but also acknowledged perfection only in the anagogical realm of eschatology. Evoking the imagery of Moses looking onto the Promised Land from Mount Nebo, King prophetically preached the night before his assassination,

And He’s allowed me to go up to the mountain. (Go ahead) And I’ve looked over (Yes sir), and I’ve seen the Promised Land. (Go ahead) I may not get there with you. (Go ahead) but I want you to know tonight (yes), that we, as a people, will get to the Promised Land!⁹²

⁸⁸ Martin Luther King Jr., “The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life,’ Sermon Delivered at Friendship Baptist Church (28 February 1960),” in *The Papers of Martin Luther King Jr.*, ed. Clayborne Carson (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 401.

⁸⁹ King Jr., “The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life,” 401.

⁹⁰ King Jr., “The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life,” 402.

⁹¹ King Jr., “Facing the Challenge of a New Age,” 340.

⁹² Martin Luther King Jr., “I’ve Been to the Mountaintop,” in *A Call to Conscience : The Landmark Speeches of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. Clayborne Carson and Kris Shepard (London: Little, Brown and Company, 2001), 223.

King utilized the Exodus event to give cosmic meaning in the struggle for equality of African Americans throughout his ministry and leadership of the Civil Rights movement.

7. Eradicating Empire in Canaan: Liberation Theology and Allegory

Liberation theologians, alongside Martin Luther King Jr., also seek the Promised Land in the places where they currently dwell through liberation from oppressive sociopolitical and economic structures. Gutiérrez describes the necessity of an exodus, asserting, “The exploited and marginalized are today becoming increasingly conscious of living in a foreign land that is hostile to them, a land of death, a land that has no concern for their oppressors, a land that is alien to their hopes and is owned by those who seek to terrorize them.”⁹³ While King argued for a domestic exodus occurring within the nation of oppression that did not require movement by either the oppressed or oppressor, Latin American liberation theologians argue for the eradication, and subsequently the retreat of foreign structures of oppression that are present in their home nations. Liberation theologians identify neocolonial exploitations that mirror the dependence of the surrounding nations on Egypt during famine, and seek to eradicate empire from the lands that the oppressed call home. “Exiled, therefore, by unjust social structures from a land that in the final analysis belongs to God alone—‘all the earth is mine’ (Exod. 19:5, JB; cf. Deut. 10:14)—but aware now that they have been despoiled of it,” Gutiérrez proclaims, “the poor are actively entering Latin American history and are taking part in an exodus that will restore to them what is rightfully their own.”⁹⁴

For liberation theologians, the Exodus event is paradigmatic for the salvific work of God in Jesus Christ, and is “a pattern of deliverance that provides a key for interpreting the Scriptures and for interpreting present experience.”⁹⁵ Liberation theologians, unlike the early church fathers, do not allegorically locate Jesus Christ in the original Exodus event, but instead articulate how Jesus Christ represents yet

⁹³ Gustavo Gutiérrez, *We Drink from Our Own Wells: The Spiritual Journey of a People*, New ed. (London: SCM Press, 2005), 11.

⁹⁴ Gutiérrez, *We Drink from Our Own Wells: The Spiritual Journey of a People*, 11.

⁹⁵ Phillip Berryman, *Liberation theology: essential facts about the revolutionary movement in Latin America--and beyond* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1987), 49, 50.

another Exodus from sin and death. In a manner characteristic of Latin American liberation theology, Gutiérrez asserts that “the salvation of the whole man is centered upon Christ the Liberator,” and James Cone, representative of a black liberation theology, recognizes that “Jesus Christ the Liberator, the helper and the healer of the wounded, is the point of departure for valid exegesis of the Scriptures from a Christian perspective.”⁹⁶ Liberation theologians understand the Exodus event as a significant historical event that is repeatedly reenacted throughout history through the paradigmatic nature of the Exodus event and Jesus Christ.

While Gutiérrez does not explicitly identify colonial and developed nations as Egypt, this understanding is implied as he describes the contemporary context of Latin American oppression in the light of the liberation of the Israelites from Egypt. Describing a situation similar to the dependence of the surrounding nations upon Egypt through Joseph’s policies of empire, Gutiérrez asserts that “the poor countries are becoming ever more clearly aware that their underdevelopment is only the by-product of the development of other countries, because of the kind of relationship which exists between the rich and the poor countries.”⁹⁷ “The poor are not poor because they are indolent,” and as Leonardo Boff argues, “For the biblical mentality, especially as we see it in the prophets, the poor are poor because they have been impoverished, because they have been reduced to a condition of penury.”⁹⁸ Exodus, according to liberation theologians, is the removal of unjust oppression and is accompanied by the realization “that their own development will come about only with a struggle to break the domination of the rich countries.”⁹⁹ Using allegory, Enrique Dussel states in clearer terms, “Oppression, dictatorships, exploitation without hope, form a Latin American Egypt,” and “Revolutionary situations in the strict sense as in El Salvador are the going out into the desert,” and “the violent

⁹⁶ Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, 83. James H. Cone, *God of the oppressed* (New York, NY: Seabury Press, 1975), 82.

⁹⁷ Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, 17.

⁹⁸ Leonardo Boff, *When Theology Listens to the Poor* (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1988), 61.

⁹⁹ Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, 17.

persecution by Pharaoh's armies, could be compared with the 'contras' in Nicaragua."¹⁰⁰

Liberation theology and patristic exegesis both recognize the saving grace of God demonstrated in the Exodus event, but liberation theologians replace the personal migration from sin to salvation emphasized in patristic exegesis with the community's journey from oppression to freedom in today's world. According to liberation theology, "sin is not considered as an individual, private, or merely interior reality—asserted just enough to necessitate 'spiritual' redemption which does not challenge the order in which we live."¹⁰¹ Instead, "sin is regarded as a social, historical fact, the absence of fellowship and love in relationships among persons, the breach of friendship with God and with other persons, and, therefore, an interior personal fracture."¹⁰² Whereas patristic exegesis understood the ultimate "sense" of Exodus as only being eschatologically attainable, liberation theologians place a particular focus on the tropological sense that seeks the attainment of an eschatological vision in the world today. Liberation theology, regardless of the context, warns that eschatological hope must never prevent the tropological sense, and that eschatological hope must never be a simple consolation to those who suffer, but must always be a "hope which focuses on the future in order to make us refuse to tolerate present inequities."¹⁰³ For liberation theology, "To see the future of God, as revealed in the resurrection of Jesus, is to see also the contradiction of any earthly injustice with existence in Jesus Christ."¹⁰⁴ Through the love of God, the Church identifies a radical disjuncture between earthly experience and anagogical hope, and through tropology, they help to shape the world. As Gutiérrez asserts, "the Church is always provisional; and it is towards the fulfillment of this reality that the Church is orientated: this reality is the Kingdom of God which has already begun in history."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Enrique Dussel, "Exodus as a Paradigm in Liberation Theology," *Concilium*, no. 189 (1987): 88.

¹⁰¹ Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, 102.

¹⁰² Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, 102.

¹⁰³ James H. Cone, *A Black theology of liberation*, 40th anniversary edition. ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2010), 4.

¹⁰⁴ Cone, *A Black theology of liberation*, 4.

¹⁰⁵ Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, 103.

8. Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, I argue that migrants are not *ex nihilo* creations, but reveal the interconnected nature of the world and the falsity of explanatory nationalism. In this chapter, I examined the unintended accuracy of contemporary utilizations of the word “exodus” to describe the migration of millions of people during the ongoing migration crisis, and highlighted push and pull factors of migration arising from the interconnected nature of the world as disclosed in biblical and modern famine. This chapter sought to complicate the considerations of nation-states in deciding whether or not to admit or deny the entrance of migrants into sovereign nation-states by enlarging understandings of who is owed admittance as a matter of justice, and not only charity. In contrast to explanatory nationalism, I argue that migration does not occur *ex nihilo*, but is shaped by political, economic, and ecological forces exerted across the borders of sovereign nation-states. By reclaiming an understanding of the Hebrew cosmos, I sought to identify human agency in contributing to the causes of migration and the subsequent need for the governments and citizens of receiving nation-states to respond to the needs of migrants. I then turned to the allegorical interpretations of the Exodus event and its surrounding context in patristic exegesis to address the necessary reprioritization of God and faith against the nation-state and sovereign. Breaking free from these simulacra for God and faith is necessary for the Church to follow the examples of the Hebrew midwives and Pharaoh’s daughter in extending aid to those in need. The allegorical usage of the Exodus event in Martin Luther King Jr.’s preaching and Gustavo Gutiérrez’s liberation theology affirm the necessity for breaking free from false simulacra so that justice can be extended to those in need. This chapter, and its argument for the need to break free from false simulacra for God and faith, shapes the normative moral claims for the hospitable treatment of migrants put forth in this and future chapters.

The most straightforward normative moral claim that arises from the Exodus event is the command to care for the alien based on the experience of the Israelites being aliens in Egypt. As God instructed the Israelites throughout the Hebrew Bible, *The alien who resides with you shall be to you as the citizen among you; you shall love the alien as yourself, for you were aliens in the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God* (Lev. 19:34). The command to care for the alien is based upon the

Israelites' own identity as once being aliens in Egypt, as well as their ongoing identity as God's people. At the outset of the Ten Commandments, God reminds the Israelites, *I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery, you shall have no other gods before me* (Ex. 20:2-3). Through allegorical exegesis, I argued that caring for the alien entails breaking free from the nation-state and explanatory nationalism, as well as the invisible hand of economic liberalism, as simulacra for God and faith. Patristic exegesis understands the historical movement of the Israelites from Egypt through the Red Sea into the Promised Land as the escape from sin within oneself. As Ambrose interpreted the slaying of the Egyptian taskmaster as the defeat of sin within himself and his realization that "the reproach of Christ was a far better patrimony than the treasures of Egypt," I contend that the "exodus" within an individual's heart represents an escape from the nation-state as simulacra for God and faith, and concerning migration, necessitates a reassessment of the prioritization between people and borders.¹⁰⁶

In Chapter 1, I addressed social contract theories that prioritized the needs of those within the contracting community against those outside the social contract and viewed migrants as threats to the strength of the sovereign. Even as Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and Immanuel Kant recognized international commerce as increasing relations between different nation-states, they refused to recognize migrants as being more than temporary agents of commerce. This is similar to the situation today. As Martha Nussbaum points out, "doctrines of the social contract have a deep and broad influence in our political life," and I argue that reactions to migrants as *ex nihilo* creations perpetuate the mistreatment of migrants arriving at the borders of sovereign nation-states today. Luke Bretherton attempts to delineate "a way of valuing our particular political communities in relation to other nations, and ultimately in relation to God," and argues "that such a framework will enable us to make appropriate decisions about how to respect and value existing citizens and fulfil our duty of care to the refugee and vulnerable stranger from outside our

¹⁰⁶ Leonardo Boff, *When Theology Listens to the Poor*, 61.

borders.”¹⁰⁷ In this way, the Church will provide an alternative witness to the totalizing sovereignty of the nation-state through a model of citizenship in nation-states that is ultimately defined by faith in God. Reclaiming God and faith for shaping contemporary moral action towards migrants, shapes how we understand, value, and prioritize national borders and the people who migrate across those borders.

Within this chapter’s focus on breaking free from the false simulacra for God and faith provided by the nation-state and explanatory nationalism for ordering moral action in the world, I assert that churches must provide welcome and accept diversity in the places they call home based upon the examples of the Hebrew midwives, Shiphrah and Puah, and Pharaoh’s daughter. The Hebrew midwives and Pharaoh’s daughter are exemplary for the contemporary Church because they prioritized human life over the nation-state in their rescue and aid of the defenseless Moses. The Hebrew midwives refused to allow Pharaoh to shape their moral action, and because they “feared God; they did not do as the king of Egypt commanded them” (Ex. 1:17). By disregarding Pharaoh’s edicts, they refused to be coopted into the unjust systematic violence of the nation-state and modeled a citizenship in nation-states that is based on allegiance to God. Shiphrah and Puah demonstrated the radical refusal to be defined by the nation-state, and enact the same aid and rescue provided by the Good Samaritan, which I engage in Chapter 6. Shiphrah and Puah are important models for the contemporary Church to emulate, as extending aid and rescue to migrants entails prioritizing faith in God over the laws of the nation-state. While residing in Egypt, the Hebrew midwives were not defined by Egypt. Instead they “feared God,” and extended rescue and aid.

When Pharaoh’s daughter rescued Moses from the Nile, she demonstrated rescue and aid similar to the Hebrew midwives, and an openness to foreigners that I present as being particularly apt for contemporary Christians living in receiving nation-states. Patristic exegesis interpreted Pharaoh’s daughter’s journey from her father’s house to the Nile as the Gentile Church coming to the waters of baptism to

¹⁰⁷ Luke Bretherton, “Guest Blog: Immigration and the moral status of borders,” ABC Religion and Ethics, Sept. 1, 2011, <http://www.abc.net.au/religion/articles/2011/09/01/2966909.htm> (access date: March 14, 2017).

be included among the Jews in the formation of the early Church. In this way, allegorical exegesis affirms the call for the Church to break from the false simulacra of the nation-state, and to extend rescue and aid in the places the Church calls home. Though a familial member of Pharaoh's household, Pharaoh's daughter prioritized human life over the discriminatory commands of her father when she rescued "one of the Hebrew babies" from the Nile (Ex. 2:6). In addition to following the Hebrew midwives' examples of valuing life over the nation-state in providing rescue and aid, Pharaoh's daughter provided refuge and sanctuary, as well as ongoing care to Moses due to her position within Pharaoh's household. Unlike the Hebrew midwives who were living in a foreign land, Pharaoh's daughter was at home. While I argue within this thesis that the cosmological wanderer and alien identity of Christians is important to the extension of hospitality to legal aliens, it is the benefit of being at home in a nation-state that allows Christians and churches in receiving nation-states to extend the hospitality, aid, and rescue that I contend arises from the biblical narratives and their interpretations examined in this thesis. As people at home in a particular place, the citizens of receiving nation-states are like Pharaoh's daughter, in that by being citizens of nation-states, they are subsequently able to provide a home to others.

Martin Luther King Jr. and Gustavo Gutiérrez both employed allegory as a way of understanding the challenges faced by the communities where they lived and ministered in light of Exodus and Jesus Christ. Interpreting the forces of oppression as Egypt, they longed for an exodus from unjust systematic abuse, and sought liberation in light of Jesus Christ, who provided salvation from sin and death. More than simply understanding their own struggle for equality or escape from debt to economic and political freedom in light of the Israelites journey from Egypt to the Promised Land, King and Gutiérrez interpreted this exodus event as a liberation for all, including both the oppressed and the oppressor. Gutiérrez asserts, "Sin is regarded as a social, historical fact, the absence of fellowship and love in relationship among persons, the breach of friendship with God and with other persons, and therefore, an interior, personal fracture."¹⁰⁸ Liberation for the oppressed and oppressor affirms the allegorical interpretations of patristic exegesis that call for

¹⁰⁸ Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, 102.

breaking free from Egypt, which is allegorically interpreted as sin and the ways of the world, so that one's life is ordered according to God and not the world. In this way, I understand King and Gutiérrez to argue that liberation for the oppressed can only arise from the liberation of all from the false simulacra that prevent a relationship with God and others. The normative moral claims of caring for the alien based upon the experiences of the Israelites being alien, and which follow the example of the Hebrew midwives and Pharaoh's daughter, are only possible for the contemporary Church if they are liberated from the false simulacra of the nation-state for God. Allegorical interpretations of the Exodus event demonstrate how anagogical claims shaped tropological claims, as the way Christians act on earth should be shaped by their distinct *telos* in Jesus Christ. Moving from the largest single mass migration event in scripture, I now turn to the more intimate migration narrative of the book of Ruth to ascertain how the processes of migration are said to mutually shape migrants and receiving communities in biblical narratives.

Chapter 5: The Book of Ruth: Integration in New Communities

1. Introduction

Whereas the previous chapter utilized the Exodus event and its surrounding context to develop a theological ethics of migration that acknowledges the interconnected nature of the world and falsity of explanatory nationalism, this chapter engages the book of Ruth to address potential challenges in integrating aliens into receiving communities. An obvious but significant distinction between the falsity of explanatory nationalism and the reality of the interconnected nature of the world demonstrated in globalization, climate change, and migration, is that unlike the consumer goods, financial services, or the climate, migrants are people who occupy physical space in local communities and exert dynamic impact upon the places where they settle.¹ For these reasons, Adam Smith described humanity as “the most bulky of commodities” and asserted that “man is of all sorts of luggage the most difficult to be transported.”² In 2015, over one million migrants arrived in Germany alone, and over 800,000 were expected to apply for asylum status.³ The inclusion and integration of these migrants into communities in Germany and Europe more generally is a critical issue prompting support and backlash. In the first few weeks of 2016, the German Chancellor Angela Merkel faced fierce opposition to Germany’s admittance of refugees into its borders, and a Bavarian mayor protested by sending a busload of Syrian refugees to Merkel’s official residence in Berlin.⁴ When migrants arrive in receiving nations, they require basic necessities to ensure

¹ Migration is integrally linked to both globalization and climate change, but I highlight this difference between them to describe the way migrants have needs or impact that is sentient and responsive, which I describe as dynamic. I do not engage questions of admissions in this section, partly because admissions is a federal issue and I am here engaging integration at the local level, such as into the community or church.

² Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of the Nations*, 1, I.VIII: 92.

³ This is four times as many migrants arriving in Germany than in 2014 in “Migrant Crisis: Germany Heads for 1m Asylum-seekers in 2015,” *BBC News*, Dec. 7, 2015, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-35027951> (accessed on April 26, 2016).

⁴ “Migrant Crisis: Bavaria Mayor Sends Refugees to Merkel,” *BBC News*, Jan. 14, 2016, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-35316913> (accessed on April 26, 2016). The article states that the people on the bus were granted refugee status and are able to live anywhere in Germany. The Landshut district has received 2,100 asylum seekers, and the population of the district is reported to be 152,000.

their livelihood, which are especially crucial for refugees and asylum seekers in need of a polity to provide the peace and protections that are not afforded in their countries of origin.⁵ Intensifying concerns regarding the distribution of local resources in receiving countries, migrants are also perceived as challenges to local cultures and identity, especially when the majority of migrants are culturally, racially, religiously, ethnically, and linguistically distinct from the majority culture in receiving countries.⁶ While integrating migrants entails challenges for receiving communities as well as for migrants themselves, I argue that the interconnected nature of the world necessitates their inclusion as a faithful response to biblical commands that demand care and justice for the alien. This does not diminish the concerns and challenges faced by receiving nations, such as limited housing and resources, and the ways that a lack of an international “burden” sharing scheme results in some communities or nations offering whatever aid and hospitality they can, but being overwhelmed by the demand. Additionally, I assert that integration is a dynamic process requiring effort by communities and migrants. This chapter engages the book of Ruth to address the inclusion and integration of migrants into communities, and asserts the necessity of *חֶסֶד*, *hesed* to and from migrants and receiving communities to facilitate the inclusion of others for everyone’s benefit.

⁵ Bretherton, *Christianity and Contemporary Politics: The Conditions and Possibilities of Faithful Witness*, 129. Ralston, "Toward a Political Theology of Refugee Resettlement," 367.

⁶ Stephen Castles, "International Migration at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century: Global Trends and Issues," *International Social Science Journal* 52, no. 165 (2000): 278. Richard Alba and Nancy Foner assert, “A widely acclaimed 2009 book by journalist Christopher Caldwell, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe*, argues that immigration there is exacting a ‘steep price in freedom’ and bringing ‘disorder, penury, and crime.’ Princeton Islamic scholar Bernard Lewis has said that by the end of this century Europe will be ‘part of the Arab West, the Maghreb.’ On the other side of the Atlantic, massive waves of Hispanic immigration, according to the late Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington, are eroding America’s national identity, and, if continued, will turn the United States into a country of two languages, two cultures, and two peoples without a shared historic cultural core. In the American media, Mexican immigrants and their children are often portrayed as unwilling to integrate—‘unassimilable separatists’—and as a threat to existing institutions,” in Richard Alba, Nancy Foner, *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 2.

2. A Unique Prism for the Struggles of Migration

The book of Ruth is a unique prism for viewing the integral role of migration throughout scripture and the ways that migrants reflect hybridity within the world, are integrated into communities, receive and initiate *hesed*, and contribute to the welfare of the places that receive them. Naomi's experiences of famine, sojourning, and residing as an alien in Moab, alongside Ruth's experiences of residing as an alien in Bethlehem, are paradigmatic of migration throughout the Hebrew Bible and are relevant to contemporary issues of migration. Larger instances of migration exist in the Hebrew Bible, such as the Exodus event, examined in the previous chapter, the Israelites' forty years of wandering in the wilderness, and the forced deportations and returns from the promised land to Babylon. While these may arguably be more fundamental to the identity of the Israelites as God's people, I utilize the book of Ruth because it provides an in-depth and intimate look at the struggles and joys of one particular family that illuminate the challenges of migration for the Israelites and others throughout history.⁷

Patristic exegesis and contemporary utilizations of the book of Ruth identify competing themes that include the "vision of a universal, catholic community, undivided by national or ethnic differences," and the "reinscribing [of] the very national, ethnic, and religious particularities it seemingly erases."⁸ Patristic exegesis of the book of Ruth utilized allegory to signify the incorporation of Gentiles alongside Jews in the formation of the Church, thereby demonstrating what contemporary theorists understand as a universalism that overcomes national, religious, and ethnic differences. Contemporary exegetes detect an oscillation between universalism and particularism within the book of Ruth, to which I issue a caution against overly particularistic interpretations that either exceed the remit of the biblical book or render the cultural identity of migrants as static and incapable of change. Ruth's marriage to Boaz and the genealogy of Jesus demonstrates the

⁷ Ellen Davis asserts that the book of Ruth "quietly refutes the great-man theory of history, the notion that all the really important events occur in war rooms or on battlefields or even holy mountains," in Ellen F. Davis, "'All that You Say, I Will Do': A Sermon On the Book of Ruth," in *Scrolls of Love: Ruth and the Song of Songs*, ed. Peter S. Hawkins, Lesleigh Cushing Stahlberg (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2006), 5.

⁸ Jeffrey S. Shoulson, *Fictions of Conversion: Jews, Christians, and Cultures of Change in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 69.

hybridity of cultures, and contradicts static notions of identity that weaken efforts of integration. Responding to these oscillations, I engage *hesed*, demonstrated to and by wanderers and aliens in the book of Ruth, to view integration as a dynamic interaction between receiving nations and migrants, and identify gleaning as a practical enactment and model of *hesed* between humanity and God, that recognizes the interconnected nature of the world.

3. Allegorical Interpretations: Part I

Patristic exegesis allegorically interpreted the book of Ruth as the inclusion of the Gentile Church, and in this way, modeled the inclusion of outsiders. *The Ordinary Gloss* on the book of Ruth is a medieval compilation of patristic commentary alongside additions by medieval scholars that provides a valuable source of patristic and medieval exegesis on the book of Ruth. *The Ordinary Gloss* does not provide a linear exegesis but is a conglomeration of exegetical commentary from patristic and medieval sources, and requires attention and effort in discerning continuous threads of interpretation amongst various authors on different verses.⁹ Lesley Smith asserts that “modern readers may find the shifting sands confusing and treacherous...but for medieval exegetes this variety only signaled more possible uses for the material, and they were happier to leap between stepping stones, supplying the rest of the path in their own heads.”¹⁰ Despite the absence of exegesis directly attributable to specific early church fathers in *The Ordinary Gloss*, two interpretational threads emerge that each describe the inclusion of the Gentiles alongside the Jews in the formation of the early Church.¹¹ One interpretational strand recognized Elimelech as the Ten Commandments and Naomi as the Synagogue, and identified their sons Mahlon and Chilion as being kingly and priestly honor, while

⁹ The Ordinary Gloss uses the Vulgate as the primary text and contains notes in the margins referring to specific verses. These notes are taken from the early church fathers and are not individually referenced. Other threads of interpretation are included. The purpose is not to provide one straightforward interpretation, but to represent the richness of existing interpretations.

¹⁰ Lesley Smith, "Introduction," in *Medieval Exegesis in Translation: Commentaries on the Book of Ruth*, ed. E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publication of Western Michigan University, 1996), xv.

¹¹ For a chart identifying the various allegorical interpretations of the book of Ruth in patristic exegesis please see the chart in the Appendix.

the other interpretational strand identified Elimelech as Christ and Naomi as the Church, with their two sons being the apostles and prophets. Although these two threads diverged in their interpretations of each of these characters, they both identified the inclusion of the Gentile Church alongside the Jews, and demonstrated how the alien nature of the Church enabled its prophetic witness in the world.

The interpretative strand that recognized Elimelech as Christ and Naomi as the Church is largely limited to the first chapter of the book of Ruth, and understood Ruth as the first convert. Within this strand, *The Ordinary Gloss* asserted, "Namely, Christ, born in Bethlehem in Judah, who made the pilgrimage of this world with his wife, that is, the Church, and with his two sons, namely, the two orders of prophets and apostles, who were freed from the slavery of sin by the blood of Christ."¹² Elimelech is identified as Christ owing to his origins in Bethlehem, the birthplace of Christ (Mt. 2:1; Lk. 15), and his migration from Bethlehem to Moab is interpreted as God's incarnation in Jesus Christ and migration from heaven to earth.¹³ This interpretation employed the same allegorical imagery and logic that Karl Barth would utilize in his interpretation of the parable of the Prodigal Son framing Jesus's journey from heaven to earth as "the way of the son into the far country."¹⁴ In distinction to this interpretative strand of patristic exegesis, however, Barth also described the redemption of humanity as the "homecoming of the son of man," which was unaddressed by patristic exegesis, as this interpretative strand ceases after the first chapter, and therefore before Naomi's return migration to Bethlehem.¹⁵

Interpreting Naomi as the Church engaged Augustine's theme of the citizens of heaven on an earthly pilgrimage. Following Elimelech's death (Ruth 1:3), Naomi, who is interpreted as the Church, continued her pilgrimage in Moab, and an interlinear note in *The Ordinary Gloss* described how "after the Lord's ascension, on

¹² Smith, "Introduction," xi.

¹³ *The Gloss* states of Moab, "namely in the country of the devil, who is the prince of this world," in Smith, "The Ordinary Gloss," 11. Bethlehem, by implication, may be interpreted as the home of God, thereby rendering Elimelech and family's migration from Bethlehem to Moab as the descent of God from heaven to earth in Jesus Christ.

¹⁴ Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV.1, The Doctrine of Reconciliation §57-59, 150. I engage this theme in detail in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

¹⁵ Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, ed. G.W. Bromiley and T.F. Torrance, trans. G.W. Bromiley, Study ed., vol. IV.2, The Doctrine of Reconciliation §64 (London: T & T Clark, 2009), 19.

this pilgrimage,” Naomi is left “in the exile of this world.”¹⁶ As the Church in exile, Naomi served as a witness for God in Moab, interpreted as the world, and directed people towards Jesus Christ. Naomi attracted converts, or, in this case, her daughters-in-law, Orpah and Ruth, and drew them closer to her heavenly home as represented by Bethlehem. When Naomi’s pilgrimage in Moab was over, and she returned to Bethlehem, Orpah remained in Moab, while Ruth journeyed with her to Bethlehem (Ruth 1:6-14). *The Ordinary Gloss* asserted,

‘Believers’ are signified by these women (one of whom, grieving and mourning, leaves her mother-in-law; the other, of determined spirit, stays), some of whom (signified by Orpha who turned back to her gods) after receiving the grace of baptism, will fall back from the fellowship of faith to original errors; others, however, of immutable purpose, (signified by Ruth) follow through the grace which has been received.¹⁷

This interpretation of Orpah and Ruth’s choices resemble the parable of the Sower, which described seed as being scattered along a path, rocky places with shallow soil, thorns, and good soil (Mt. 13:1-23). Though patristic exegesis of Ruth does not employ this parable, Ruth could be interpreted as the seed falling on good soil, while Orpah could resemble the seed falling among rocky places or thorns. Paulinus of Nola framed the book of Ruth as the decision of some Gentiles to part with old customs and others choosing to cling to them, and asked, “Does not such disharmony continue through the universe, one part following God and the falling headlong through the world?”¹⁸ Making allusions to the parable of the Sower clear, Paulinus asserted, “But the broad road seduces many, and those who glide on the easy downward course are snatched off headlong by sin which cannot be revoked.”¹⁹ Naomi’s pilgrimage in Moab represented the Church in the world, and the divergence between Orpah and Ruth represented the challenges of faith amidst a foreign world.

¹⁶ Smith, “The Ordinary Gloss,” 11.

¹⁷ Smith, “The Ordinary Gloss,” 13.

¹⁸ John R. Franke, ed. *Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1-2 Samuel*, vol. IV, Old Testament, Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005), 183.

¹⁹ Franke, *Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1-2 Samuel*, 183.

4. Allegorical Interpretations: Part II

The interpretative strand that identified Elimelech as the Ten Commandments and Naomi as the Synagogue demonstrates the transition from the Law to the Gospel and the Synagogue to the Church of Jesus Christ. In contrast to the interpretation of Elimelech as Jesus Christ and Naomi as the Church within the first chapter of the book of Ruth, this interpretation is developed throughout the entirety of the book of Ruth, and identified Boaz as Jesus Christ and Ruth as the Church. Though married to Mahlon and Chilion, Orpah and Ruth maintained their Gentile status and related to the Law and Synagogue as resident aliens. It is not until Ruth met and married Boaz that patristic exegesis interpreted Ruth as the Gentile Church, and not simply the wife of one of the kings and princes of the Law.²⁰ Elimelech's death represented the passing of the law, but Naomi, the Synagogue, had not yet embraced Christ, and declared to those who were awaiting her return in Bethlehem, "Call me no longer Naomi, call me Mara, for the almighty has dealt bitterly with me. I went away full, but the Lord has brought me back empty; why call me Naomi when the Lord has dealt harshly with me, and the Almighty has brought calamity upon me?" (Ruth 1:20-21). *The Ordinary Gloss* described Naomi's predicament, asserting, "The Synagogue recognizes the ruin which she justly suffers after the advent of Christ, and refuses to be called beautiful, because she sees the era of her prosperity over."²¹ While attempting to live by the Law, Naomi, the Synagogue, recognized her emptiness with the passing of Elimelech, the Law, and it is Ruth, who would become the Gentile Church upon her marriage to Boaz, that this interpretational strand of patristic exegesis interpreted as joining Naomi and providing fulfillment.

The second chapter of the book of Ruth begins, *Now Naomi had a kinsman on her husband's side, a prominent rich man, of the family of Elimelech, whose name was Boaz* (Ruth 2:1). This interpretational strand interpreted Boaz as Jesus Christ, and his care and subsequent marriage to Ruth represented the inclusion of the Gentile Church among the Jews. *The Gloss* states, "This man [who] was kin to Elimelech, is Christ, the lamb of the Law and the legislator, for he had been promised by the Law,

²⁰ Smith, "The Ordinary Gloss," 11.

²¹ Smith, "The Ordinary Gloss," 14.

and was born in flesh from the patriarchs and from the Jewish nation.”²² Alongside interpretations of Boaz as Jesus Christ, the setting of the Barley Festival and the fields where Ruth gleaned are allegorically interpreted as the time of Christ’s passion and the places where Christ cultivated faith within the world. Hugh of St. Cher explained that “the barely harvest is explained as the time of our Lord’s passion, which is the month of new things, that is next to the first month,” and that “the Gentiles, therefore, come to faith at the time that the Law predicts that Christ (whom it teaches was born in Bethlehem), would die...His incarnation and resurrection is a mystery the Church works hard to imbue her own people with.”²³ Further interpretations from *The Gloss* on the Barley Harvest and fields include the following:

This field is the knowledge of heavenly study. The harvest is spiritual discernment. The harvesters are preachers. The remaining ears of corn are the opinions of the Scriptures which, by the mystery of concealment, are very often left behind for the exercise of contemplation, like fuller, deeper senses.²⁴

Gleaning is among numerous injunctions in the Hebrew Bible that provide care for the alien, orphan, and widow, and it is in performing this practice that the Gentile Church is born. Ruth participated in this tradition as both a widow and alien in Bethlehem, and it enabled her to provide for her and Naomi’s livelihood. Hugh of St. Cher referenced Naomi as “the primitive Church,” claiming, “Naomi, that is, the primitive Church, led Ruth, that is, the church of the Gentiles [to Bethlehem], that is, to the faith of Christ, and she united her to Boaz....”²⁵ This is reflected in interpretational comments throughout *The Ordinary Gloss*, beginning with the respect Ruth, the Church, gave her mother-in-law, Naomi, the Synagogue, when she was gleaning in Boaz’s fields. *The Gloss* asserted, “For she shows her faith in mother Church. Or [it means], the Church shows to the Synagogue that grace which she received by the gift of her spouse, and she shows it to her mother, the Synagogue, so

²² Smith, "The Ordinary Gloss," 16.

²³ Hugh of St. Cher, "Postills on Ruth (1533)," in *Medieval Exegesis in Translation: Commentaries on the Book of Ruth*, Commentary Series (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publication of Western Michigan University, 1996), 48.

²⁴ Smith, "The Ordinary Gloss," 16.

²⁵ Hugh of St. Cher, "Postills on Ruth (1533)," 48.

that it might challenge her to believe.”²⁶ The book of Ruth does not simply convey the poignant experience of one family, but is illustrative of the inclusion of the Gentile Church. Referencing the birth of Obed, *The Gloss* described, “The daughter-in-law of Synagogue is the Gentile Church, who was married to Christ, born from the Synagogue.”²⁷

According to this interpretation, when Ruth married Boaz, she became the Church, the bride of Christ. Similar to interpretations of Naomi as the Church and Ruth forsaking her homeland to become the earliest convert, John Chrysostom interpreted Ruth as turning away from her homeland and towards Christ to become not a convert, but the Gentile Church. According to Chrysostom, “But even as Ruth, if she had not before left her father, and renounced household and race, country and kindred, would not have attained unto this alliance, so the Church too, having forsaken the customs which men had received from their fathers, then, and not before, became lovely to the Bridegroom.”²⁸ Similarly, Isidore of Seville described how Ruth’s renunciation of Moab and embrace of Israelite life makes her a “type” of Church, and framed her inclusion within Israelites as the inclusion of the Gentiles among the Jews, claiming,

For the Church was called to God from the Gentiles in just this way: leaving her native land (which is idolatry) and giving up all earthly associations, she confessed that He in whom the saints believed is the Lord God; and that she herself will go where the flesh of Christ ascended after His passion; and that on account of His name she would suffer in this world unto death; and that she will unite with the community of the saints, that is, the patriarchs and prophets.²⁹

These allegorical interpretations of patristic exegesis understood Ruth’s inclusion among the Israelites to represent the inclusion of the Gentiles among the Jews in the formation of the Church. These allegorical interpretations became tropological and anagogical, as Ruth’s experiences are compared to the situation of its readers. As

²⁶ Smith, "The Ordinary Gloss," 19.

²⁷ Smith, "The Ordinary Gloss," 29.

²⁸ John Chrysostom, "Homily III," in *Saint Chrysostom: Homilies on the Gospel of Saint Matthew*, ed. Philip Schaff, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956), 17.

²⁹ Isidore of Seville, "On Ruth," in *Medieval Exegesis in Translation* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications of Western Michigan University, 1996), 7.

Chrysostom explained, "See, for instance, what befell Ruth, how like it is to the things which belong to us," and then describes how Ruth "was both of a strange race, and reduced to the utmost poverty, yet Boaz when he saw her neither despised her poverty nor abhorred her mean birth, as Christ having received the Church, being both an alien and in much poverty, took her to be partaker of great blessings."³⁰ As will be explored more fully in the following chapter on the allegorical interpretations of the parable of the Good Samaritan, humanity was interpreted as the wounded traveler dependent on the grace of God for salvation. In the same way, Chrysostom recognized humanity in Ruth, who while in great need, was embraced by God.

5. "Wherever You Will Go, I Will Go": The Politics of Cultural Identity

Patristic and medieval exegesis allegorically interpreted the book of Ruth as the inclusion of the Gentile Church, thereby depicting the hybrid character of the Christian Church gathered from both the Jews and Gentiles. In this way, allegory interprets the book of Ruth as an illumination of the Apostle Paul's declaration of Christ, *For he is our peace; in his flesh he has made both groups into one and has broken down the dividing wall, that is, the hostility between us* (Eph. 2:14). While the inclusion of the Gentiles alongside the Jews in the formation of the Church represented the creation of a universal community, the hybrid identity of the early Church is obscured by what some contemporary exegetes interpret as the complete assimilation of Ruth into Israelite culture. In this way, the book of Ruth is seen to promote a unitary national consciousness and identity that reasserts the communitarian traits that patristic exegesis erased. Bonnie Honig, however, asserts that Ruth was not assimilated into Bethlehem, and asserts that Naomi's taking Obed from Naomi in the concluding verses represent "the continuing fear of Ruth's foreignness," and that "Ruth the Moabite cannot be trusted to raise her son properly, in the Israelite way."³¹ Rather than interpreting the book of Ruth as an exaggerated cosmopolitan acceptance of other cultures or as a communitarian argument for assimilation, I argue that the integration of Ruth into Israelite society transforms both Ruth and Bethlehem, and that neither remains static or preservationist.

³⁰ Chrysostom, "Homily III," 17.

³¹ Honig, "Ruth, The Model Emigrée," 60.

The book of Ruth provides a particular and personal case study of the integration among not just Jews and Gentiles, but also among the Moabites, a people detested in Ancient Israel.³² The book of Ruth demonstrates the hybridity of culture through the marriages of Mahlon and Chilion of Bethlehem to Orpah and Ruth of Moab (Ruth 1:4), and then through Ruth's marriage to Boaz of Bethlehem (Ruth 4:13). The post-exilic prophets Ezra and Nehemiah admonished the Israelites for marrying Gentile women during the Babylonian Captivity and sought to reaffirm the Torah as they rebuilt the destroyed Temple (Ezra 9-10, Nehemiah 10:28-30; 13:3; 23-30). For Ezra and Nehemiah, the return to Judah from Babylon required a purification process in which the Torah was renewed and re-embraced, and as part of this, they urged the Israelites, "separate yourselves from the peoples of the land and from the foreign wives" (Ex. 10:11).³³ Within this context, Ruth served as a "polemic" to the exhortations of Ezra and Nehemiah, and as an "artful protest against the exclusive nationalism encouraged in the period after Judah's exile in Babylon in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah."³⁴ When Naomi urged Ruth to return to her family before returning to Bethlehem, Ruth responded,

Do not press me to leave you or to turn back from following you! Where you go, I will go; Where you lodge, I will lodge; your people shall be my people, and your God my God. Where you die, I will die—there will I be buried. May the Lord do thus and so to me, and more as well, if even death parts me from you! (1:16-17).

Interpreting this devotion to Naomi as a complete assimilation to Israelite culture, André LaCocque describes Ruth as being "willing to erase not only her ethnic roots,

³² Biblical verses that denigrate Moab: Dt. 23:3; Jdgs. 3:28-30; 1 Kgs. 11:7; 2 Kgs. 23:13; 2 Chr. 24:26; Ez. 9:1; Neh. 13:23; Ps. 60:8, 108:9; Isa. 16:6-14, 25:10, Jer. 9:26, 48:1-47; Ezek. 25:9-11; Amos 2:1-2; Zeph. 2:9. Biblical verses about the Israelites being led astray by Moabites: Num. 25:1; Jdgs. 10:6; 1 Kgs. 11:33. No hospitality shown to the Israelites by Moab: Jdgs. 11:17-18; Micah 6:5; Zeph. 2:8. The Israelites are at war with Moab: 1 Sam. 12:9; 1 Sam. 14:7; 2 Sam. 8:2, 11-12; 2 Sam. 23:20; 2 Kgs. 1:1, 3:1, 3:5-26, 13:20, 24:2; 1 Chr. 1:46, 11:22, 18:2, 18:11; 2 Chr. 20:1, 20:22-23; Isa. 11:14, 15:1-9.

³³ Matthew Levering asserts that "the people must know that their return is a journey of faith, a pilgrimage, not a mere effort to reclaim property owned by their ancestors," in Matthew Levering, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2007), 35.

³⁴ Katherine Doob Sakenfeld, *Ruth*, ed. James Luther Mays, Patrick D. Miller, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1989), 2; A. Graeme Auld, *Joshua, Judges and Ruth*, The Daily Study Bible (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1984), 259.

but also her very self.”³⁵ Whereas Jacob wanted his bones brought from Egypt to the Promised Land to be buried, Ruth desired to be buried beside Naomi, thereby emphasizing the extent of her conversion (Gen. 47:30).³⁶ Attempting to reconcile the prophetic claims of Ezra and Nehemiah and Ruth’s migration to Bethlehem and part of Jesus’s genealogy, Irmtraud Fischer highlights this exemplary quality of Ruth, and asserts that “a woman who, like Abraham and Rebekah, leaves her people, her kin, her country, yes even her God, in order to follow YHWH is to be judged in a different way.”³⁷ Fischer seeks to maintain the prophetic demands placed upon Israel by the post-exilic prophets Ezra and Nehemiah by interpreting Ruth as an exceptional migrant through her assimilation and *hesed* towards the Israelites, Naomi and Boaz. For Fischer, it is because Ruth assimilates that she is above the Mosaic law proclaimed by Ezra and Nehemiah. Julie Kristeva affirms such a reading of Ruth and claims that “one cannot help emphasizing, as several commentators have done, that Ruth’s merit will be more sound than that of Abraham, and therefore worthy of a *perfect* reward.”³⁸ Cynthia Ozick also describes Ruth’s conversion as extraordinary, especially when compared to the decision of Orpah to remain in Moab. Orpah, who married an Israelite, “is not in the least narrow-minded,” and according to Ozick, Naomi is a pluralist, who accepted the differing religious beliefs and identities of her daughters-in-law, which makes Ruth’s freely decided declaration of faithfulness to Naomi even more significant.³⁹ Ozick claims that Ruth declared her allegiance to

³⁵ André LaCocque, "Subverting the Biblical World: Sociology and Politics in the Book of Ruth," in *Scrolls of Love: Ruth and the Song of Songs*, ed. Peter S. Hawkins, Lesleigh Cushing Stahlberg (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2006), 24.

³⁶ Abraham, אֲנֹכִי עֵמֶלָם, *I am a stranger and an alien residing among you* (Gen. 23:4), purchased a burial plot for his wife Sarah from the Hittites. Nahum Sarna states, “Machpelah is the first piece of real estate in the promised land secured by the founding father of the nation, and its acquisition presages the future possession of the entire land. Since all three patriarchs and three of the matriarchs eventually were interred in the cave, it most likely enjoyed popular veneration as a shrine and as a symbol of national and social unity,” in Sarna, *Genesis: The Traditional Hebrew text with New JPS Translation*, 156.

³⁷ Irmtraud Fischer, "The Book of Ruth: A 'Feminist' Commentary to the Torah?," in *Ruth and Esther; A Feminist Companion to the Bible*, ed. Athalya Brenner (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1999), 47.

³⁸ Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1991), 73.

³⁹ Cynthia Ozick, "Ruth," in *Reading Ruth; Contemporary Women Reclaim a Sacred Story*, ed. Judith A. Kates, Gail Twersky Reimer (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1994), 222-223.

Naomi and Naomi's God and people because of her belief that "Israel is the inheritor of the One Universal Creator."⁴⁰

While Fischer and Ozick affirm Ruth's integration into Israelite society as a sign of universal inclusion, Honig views Ruth's assimilation into Israelite society and history as the exclusion of foreign and minority identities. For Honig, Fischer and Ozick's interpretations "reconsolidate the very divisions it might have called into question" and suggest that "Israel is not open to all comers," but "only to the Moabite who is exceptionally virtuous, to the good Ruth but not the threatening Orpah."⁴¹ Honig contests what she identifies as assimilationist readings of the book of Ruth by shifting the "frightening foreignness" that Ozick identifies in Orpah onto Ruth, and claiming that "Orpah (Moab) is part of Ruth."⁴² Honig claims, "*contra* Ozick and Kristeva, the book of Ruth can be read as a tale of incomplete mourning, a fable of failed transition," and cites as evidence "Ruth's closing silence [which] can no longer be taken to signal merely successful and complete absorption," and "Naomi's adoption of Obed in place of Ruth," which according to Honig is "foreshadowed by, among other things, Naomi's failure to introduce or even mention Ruth to the women who welcome Naomi back to Bethlehem."⁴³ While preserving Ruth's Moabite identity is vital to interpreting the book of Ruth as evidence for the hybridity of culture, Honig fails to concede any assimilation on the part of Ruth, or the openness of Naomi to Ruth.⁴⁴ Ruth has married Naomi's Israelite son, and after his death she married Boaz, an Israelite, freely declared her allegiance to Naomi and her God, participated in ancient Israelite legal codes for gleaning, and as will shortly be discussed, enacted and received *hesed* within Bethlehem. Additionally, Naomi was a migrant from Bethlehem in Moab whose sons married Moabite women, and who gave herself the name Mara, to reveal that she knew what it was to lose everything, declared Ruth's faithfulness as *hesed*, and who aided her daughter-in-law in Israelite society by providing advice to ensure both of their welfare. Honig's

⁴⁰ Ozick, "Ruth," 228.

⁴¹ Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner*, 47.

⁴² Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner*, 47, 72.

⁴³ Honig, "Ruth, The Model Emigrée," 72.

⁴⁴ Honig states, "Ruth's resources and context are limited because her losses are not seen as such and her transnational connections to Orpah-Moab (a potentially alternative site of support and power) are severed," in Honig, "Ruth, The Model Emigrée," 73.

overall claim is that Ruth is a migrant in mourning for the land she left behind, which is a significant fact that can aid in extending love and hospitality to migrants. Honig's arrival at this claim, however, does not have to come at the expense of denying Ruth of any assimilation to Bethlehem. Rather than positing two competing accounts of "a furious and hyperbolic assimilationism in which all connections to the motherland are disavowed" or "a refusal of transition and a retreat into a separatist or nationalist enclave that leaves the immigrant stranded," I assert that the book demonstrates the hybridity of culture which depends on both the assimilation and preservation of identity to varying degrees.⁴⁵

6. Integration in the Book of Ruth and Contemporary Culture

While Honig uses Ruth's experiences in Bethlehem to protect the cultural identity of migrants against static conceptions of national consciousness in receiving nations that force assimilation, I argue that Honig's argument unintentionally has the inverse effect of rendering the cultural identity of migrants as static and preservationist. Honig provides a useful caution against "a furious and hyperbolic assimilationism in which all connections to the motherland are disavowed," but her insistence that she argues "indeed, *contra* Ozick and Kristeva," infers the inability to acknowledge the possibility that Ruth chose Bethlehem and willingly incorporated aspects of their culture.⁴⁶ In Honig's effort to preserve the identity of minority cultures against a hegemonic nationalism that trumps diversity, Honig makes herself vulnerable to the postcolonial critique that she has erroneously rendered minority cultures static and rigid. Rather than viewing Ruth's integration into Israelite life through the lens of the nation, which according to Honig, depicts a scene of hegemonic assimilation, I argue that when viewed from the perspective of migrants, there may be a more gradual assimilation that is not hegemonic, but useful to making life in a new place.

⁴⁵ Honig, "Ruth, The Model Emigrée," 72.

⁴⁶ Honig, "Ruth, The Model Emigrée," 72.

Multiculturalism rejects “earlier models of the unitary, homogenous nation-state,” and seeks to protect space for Ruth to live in Bethlehem as a Moabite.⁴⁷ Multiculturalism occurs when a nation’s “citizens belong to a number of distinct ethnic and/or religious groups, and membership of these groups is regarded as an important source of personal identity.”⁴⁸ Whereas immigrants arriving to Ellis Island in the 20th Century frequently changed their surname to assimilate to what they perceived as the majority culture in American life, more recent immigrants typically do not engage in such a process.⁴⁹ Seyla Benhabib points out that the interconnected nature of the world has initiated changes in migratory patterns that “are leading more and more individuals to retain ties with their home countries and not to undertake total immersion in their countries of immigration.”⁵⁰ The practice of remittances, return journeys, and migratory networks involving family or friends in sending and receiving communities have contributed to migrants becoming what Peggy Levitt terms “transnational villagers,” and has had the subsequent effect of creating a multicultural society.⁵¹ According to Samuel Huntington, the increasing diversity of migrants who are culturally, ethnically, racially, linguistically, and religiously different from the receiving communities to which they are traveling is distinctive of 21st Century migration, and in his opinion, an increasingly multicultural society threatens the majority cultures within receiving nations.⁵² Huntington is not primarily concerned with increasing levels of migration, but the lack of assimilation by those migrants and the increasingly multicultural society it creates. This is demonstrated, when he laments that “in 2000 the proportion of foreign-born was somewhat less than in 1910, but the proportion of people in America who were also loyal to and

⁴⁷ Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 61.

⁴⁸ Miller, *Justice for Earthlings: Essays in Political Philosophy*, 70.

⁴⁹ Seyla Benhabib, *Dignity in Adversity; Human Rights in Turbulent Times* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011), 101. As recounted in the opening pages of this thesis, this was my family experience.

⁵⁰ Benhabib, *Dignity in Adversity; Human Rights in Turbulent Times*, 101.

⁵¹ Peggy Levitt, *The Transnational Villagers* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001).

⁵² Huntington, "The Hispanic Challenge," 32.

identified with other countries was quite possibly higher than at any time since the American Revolution.”⁵³

Multiculturalism affords “equal status to distinct linguistic, ethnic and religious groups or minorities in order to promote social cohesion and order,” and enables “members of minorities or groups to maintain their distinct cultural identity.”⁵⁴ The social contract theorists identified in Chapter 1 conceptualized justice within closed, domestic nation-states, and provided no account of the inclusion of migrants, largely owing to the threat of new cultures to national consciousness.⁵⁵ The same motivations that sought divisions between the public and private realms and the relegation of distinct identities that could fracture the peace of the public realm to the private realm are the same motivations that sought to bar entry to new comers. Nationalism, according to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, is the “centrifugal force” that drew individuals into community with one another and sought coherence by “mixing reality and symbol.”⁵⁶ Migrants challenge the provision of resources among those who have sacrificed for mutual advantage and inject alternative identities into allegedly homogeneous national identities. For this reason, Rousseau sought the relegation of distinct beliefs and identities to the private realm, and strict promotion of universal values in the public realm for the purpose of cultivating national consciousness. Multiculturalism, according to Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka, “reflects a return to the traditional liberal belief that ethnicity

⁵³ Huntington, *Who are We?: America's Great Debate*, 5. David Miller cites a similar belief in Britain, stating, “What is reasonably clear, however, is that immigrant minorities are expected to become loyal citizens of the country that receives them, and to play by the prevailing rules of the game. This may include in particular learning the national language. A relevant piece of evidence is that, when asked to choose between ‘Immigrants should get the same level of welfare support as existing British citizens’, ‘Immigrants should get less welfare support than British citizens’ and ‘Immigrants should only get the same level of welfare support as British citizens if they demonstrate commitment to the country (e.g. learning language and history)’, 18 per cent and 19 per cent respectively chose the first two options, but an overwhelming 58 per cent preferred the third,” in David Miller, “Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Theoretical Reflections,” in *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Recognition and Redistribution in Contemporary Democracies*, ed. Keith Banting, Will Kymlicka (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 333.

⁵⁴ Sheetal Sharma, “The Conflict and Challenge of Integrating the “Others” in Europe,” *European Research Studies* 17, no. 4 (2014): 81.

⁵⁵ See Chapter 1 on Rousseau, Smith, Mill, and Kant.

⁵⁶ Rousseau, “Of the Social Contract,” 75. Walzer, *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*, 11.

belongs to the private sphere, that the public sphere should be neutral, and that citizenship should be undifferentiated.”⁵⁷ Multiculturalism represents an important opportunity to respect and value different cultures that are present in society, however, in line with postcolonial concerns, such protections cannot stifle free decisions by cultural minorities or majorities to be mutually transformed by their interactions with one another. When such transformations occur, I argue that the role of *hesed*, as demonstrated in the book of Ruth is critical.

While Honig’s attempt to preserve the foreignness of Ruth is worthwhile in the face of hegemonic assimilationist strategies, the decisions of migrants *to* assimilate should not be discouraged. Just as the cultural identities of nation-states must not adhere to “atavistic apologies” that falsely obfuscate difference by banning migrants or forcing assimilation to an allegedly “homogenous” culture, Benhabib argues,

Members of cultural groups cannot be autonomous if they are unable to participate in cultural reproduction and cultural struggle, including the transformation of some cultural traditions. Against this standard, Kymlicka’s understanding of culture is remarkably static and preservationist.⁵⁸

Migration creates cultural diversity and challenges receiving nations to integrate diverse peoples into life together, but “assimilation need not imply the obliteration of all traces of ethnic origins, nor require that every member of a group be assimilated to the same degree.”⁵⁹ Benhabib asserts that “the goal of any public policy for the preservation of cultures must be the empowerment of the members of cultural groups to appropriate, enrich, and even subvert the terms of their own cultures as they may decide.”⁶⁰ Rather than defining assimilation “as a state-imposed normative program aimed at eradicating minority cultures,” Richard Alba and Victor Nee describe a version of assimilation that is “a social process that occurs spontaneously and often

⁵⁷ Keith Banting, Will Kymlicka, “Introduction Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Setting the Context,” in *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Recognition and Redistribution in Contemporary Democracies*, ed. Keith Banting, Will Kymlicka (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 8.

⁵⁸ The reference to “atavistic apologies” is taken from Homi K. Bhabha, “DissemiNATION: Time, narrative and the margins of the modern nation,” in *The location of culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), 294. Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*, 66.

⁵⁹ Richard D. Alba, “Assimilation’s Quiet Tide,” *Public Interest*, no. 119 (Spring 1995): 3.

⁶⁰ Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*, 66.

unintendedly in the course of interaction between majority and minority groups.”⁶¹ Rather than seeking to preserve Ruth’s foreignness like Honig, I argue that Ruth demonstrates the hybridity of cultures that is expressed not only in Ruth, but the Israelite community, and contemporary world. Ruth creates a hybrid society through a dynamic exchange that occurs when cultures come into contact with one another, and also recognizes that when Ruth assimilates to Israelite society, she is assimilating to a culture that is also being transformed by her inclusion. Ruth is an initiator and recipient of *hesed*, which is not only “central to the transformation of her identity,” but to Israelite society as well.⁶² Ruth’s integration into Bethlehem is accompanied by her inclusion in the genealogies of King David and Jesus Christ, and the presence of a Moabite in the Israelite community is not forgotten as she is referred to as a Moabite throughout the book of Ruth (1:4, 22, 2:2, 6, 21, 4:5, 10).

7. *Hesed*: The Extension of Hospitality to Newcomers

The book of Ruth not only demonstrates the hybridity of cultures and challenges various modes of cultural integration, but also shows how the extension of love is an act of charity and justice through *hesed*. Lacking a precise English translation, *הֶסֶד*, *hesed*, is utilized in three different verses within the book of Ruth (1:8, 2:20, 3:10), but is revealed throughout the entire narrative.⁶³ Within the book of Ruth, *hesed* revealed a loving hospitality arising from charity and justice enacted between humanity, nature, and ultimately, God. In this way, *hesed* demonstrates the interconnected nature of the world and cosmos emphasized in the previous chapter. The book of Ruth not only enacted *hesed* throughout its narrative, but demonstrated the dynamic interaction between migrants and receiving communities through the extension of *hesed*. *Hesed* is cosmopolitan in nature, as it is extended to both

⁶¹ Richard Alba, Victor Nee, "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration," *The International Migration Review* 31, no. 4, Special Issue: Immigrant Adaptation and Native-Born Responses in the Making of Americans (Winter 1997): 827.

⁶² Peter H.W. Lau, *Identity and Ethics in the Book of Ruth; A Social Identity Approach* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 109.

⁶³ Ellen Davis asserts “that there is no single English word that conveys, to twenty-first-century ears, at least, the full theological freight of *hesed*,” and points to the NRSV translating *hesed* as “steadfast love,” “kindness,” and “loyalty,” in Ellen F. Davis, "Beginning with Ruth: An Essay on Translating," in *Scrolls of love Ruth and the Song of Songs*, ed. Peter S. Hawkins and Lesleigh Cushing Stahlberg (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), 12-13.

neighbors and strangers, but is practiced through relationships within a particular community, and provides a foundation for the extension of aid and rescue, and sacrifice and redemption explored in the parables of the Good Samaritan and Prodigal Son in the following chapters.

Ellen Davis understands *hesed* as “the *torah* of this book of Ruth” and identifies *hesed* as “the discipline of generosity that binds Israelites to one another and to God—acts of *hesed* can open up the future that God intends.”⁶⁴ *Hesed* entails a dynamic relationship between individuals and God, in which love is freely shown to others with no expectation of reciprocity. The first reference to *hesed* within the book of Ruth occurred when Naomi instructed Orpah and Ruth, “Go back each of you to your mother’s house. May the Lord deal kindly (חֲסֵד) with you, as you have dealt with the dead and with me” (Ruth 1:8). Naomi’s instructions released her daughters-in-law from any obligation to remain by her side, and also rendered Ruth’s declaration to Naomi, “Where you will go, I will go...” a freely given act of religious *hesed* (Ruth 1:15).⁶⁵ In a manner that reflected Naomi’s inability to reciprocate Ruth’s dedication, Naomi had already responded to their initial loyalty by saying to them, “Turn back, my daughters, why will you go with me? Do I still have sons in my womb that they may become your husbands? Turn back, my daughters, go your way...” (Ruth 1:11-12). Similarly to Naomi’s first reference to *hesed*, Naomi described Boaz’s granting Ruth permission to glean in his fields as representative of a man “whose kindness (חֲסֵד) has not forsaken the living or the dead!” (Ruth 2:20). The third direct reference to *hesed* within the book of Ruth occurred between Ruth and Boaz, as Ruth approached Boaz as her “next-of-kin,” and Boaz responded, “May you be blessed by the Lord, my daughter; this last instance of our loyalty (חֲסֵד) is better than the first; you have not gone after young men, whether poor or rich” (Ruth 3:10). Naomi, an elderly widow without a son, was among the most vulnerable

⁶⁴ Davis, “All that You Say, I Will Do’: A Sermon On the Book of Ruth,” 8.

⁶⁵ Susanna Snyder asserts that “hesed, at its purest, is a mutual act in which both parties give and receive and, as a result, the lives of the key characters and Israel are transformed,” in Snyder, *Asylum-seeking, Migration and Church*, 182. While Snyder is correct in recognizing *hesed* in the actions of both Ruth and Boaz, it is important to note that their exemplary actions are undertaken without any foreknowledge that there will be reciprocity in exchange.

within Israelite society, and was incapable of reciprocating the *hesed* of either Ruth or Boaz, and asked God to return the *hesed* that she has received.⁶⁶

Humanity can never be in a reciprocally equal relationship with God, but humanity can serve God by serving humanity. For example, Abraham is blessed to be a blessing to the world when God tells him, “I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you, and make your name great, so that you will be a blessing” (Gen. 12:2). As is displayed throughout the book of Ruth, individuals act not only in accordance with Torah through adherence to particular laws and customs, but in *their relations* with other people, and in the book of Ruth, particularly to and between widows and aliens. In a way that further contributes to a reading of Ruth as a polemic against the exhortations of Ezra and Nehemiah, the book of Ruth itself is interpreted in light of the Torah. The internal time and backdrop of the book of Ruth is the Barley Festival (Ruth 1:22), which is today celebrated as Shevout, an “agricultural festival that celebrates the end of the grain harvests,” and since the third century, has marked the delivery of the Torah.⁶⁷ As demonstrated throughout the book of Ruth, individuals not only act in accordance with Torah through adherence to laws and customs, but in their relations with others, and particularly to and between widows and aliens. Ellen Davis explains,

So it is important to note at the outset that, while all three main characters are remarkable persons, they do not practice virtue solely as individuals. They also belong to a social system that makes legal provision for the dignity and the material needs of its weaker members: widows, strangers, the poor. So Torah regulations of gleaning and land redemption are part of the essential background against which this story occurs. Certainly, the biblical writers intend for us to see in Ruth one memorable example of living by the teachings of Torah, of which it is said, “If humanity does them, it will live through them” (Lev. 18:5).⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Kristin Moen Saxegaard, *Character Complexity in the Book of Ruth* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 188. Lisa M. Wolfe, *Ruth, Esther, Song of Songs, and Judith* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2011), 20.

⁶⁷ Jack M. Sasson, *Ruth: A New Translation with a Philological Commentary and a Formalist-folklorist Interpretation* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1979), 13.

⁶⁸ Ellen F. Davis, *Who Are You, My Daughter?: Reading Ruth through Image and Text* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), xv.

Torah is demonstrated most significantly not as a common “wisdom” or “culture,” but as a way of life lived out in relations with others.⁶⁹ As André LaCocque points out, “The characters in the narrative do not constitute an archipelago of independent and autonomous individuals,” but interact in complex relationships with one another in the living of Torah.⁷⁰ The prophet Micah demonstrated the connection between justice and *hesed*, when he declared, *what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness (רַחֲמִים), and to walk humbly with your God?* (6:8). Referencing Micah, Duncan Forrester highlights how God’s love of humanity connects justice and *hesed*, “as something to be done, something that is inherently relational or social.”⁷¹ Integrating a notion of justice developed through *hesed* within the book of Ruth and the extraordinary aid and rescue that the Good Samaritan extends to the wounded traveler, which will be explored in the next chapter, André LaCocque asserts that,

Justice is much more than meting out a commensurate penalty to the culprit and reward to the innocent. It is more than discriminating between the worthy and the unworthy; between who deserves to be rescued and who is to be left to die in the road ditch. Justice is ‘redemption,’ says the book of Ruth, that is, the restoration or the creation of conditions for the other’s plus-being.⁷²

Just as the Good Samaritan freely extended aid to the wounded traveler in order to restore him to life, *hesed*, as described in the book of Ruth, restores the life of others. The salvation of humanity achieved through Jesus Christ is freely granted to humanity by grace and is the supreme act of *hesed* to humanity that demonstrates its non-reciprocal nature. It is this action that shapes the extension of *hesed* among humanity, and extends it beyond understandings of “justice as fairness.”⁷³ As will be demonstrated in Chapter 7 with reference to the parable of the Prodigal Son, *hesed* involves a sense of justice infused with grace, which according to T.J. Gorringer, “means that Christians are called to respond ‘with sacrificial and spontaneous

⁶⁹ André LaCocque, *Ruth: A Continental Commentary*, Continental Commentaries (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2004), 23.

⁷⁰ LaCocque, *Ruth: A Continental Commentary*, 23.

⁷¹ Duncan B. Forrester, "Social Justice and Welfare," in *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Ethics*, ed. Robin Gill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 208.

⁷² André LaCocque, "Love Proceeds by Poetic Amplification," in *Reading Ricoeur*, ed. David M. Kaplan (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2008), 137.

⁷³ Rawls, *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement*.

generosity to the needy neighbour. The idea of fairness does not go far enough.”⁷⁴ *Hesed* is “the key mark of the divine commitment to the covenant with Israel, and the measure of all human behaviour,” and because it is evident in God’s actions towards humanity, it must govern humanity’s interactions with others.⁷⁵ Abiding by *hesed* in our interactions with others creates a world in which individuals act with love and justice towards others, while also incorporating grace and charity. As Davis describes, “from a biblical perspective, the moral ecology of the world functions properly when God and humanity are engaged in the perpetual exchange of *hesed*.”⁷⁶

8. Gleaning: Pragmatic Care from Abundance

Gleaning, as demonstrated in the book of Ruth, is the practice of allowing the vulnerable to *gather among the sheaves behind the reapers* (Ruth 2:7), and it continues to be employed as a way of providing for the poor and vulnerable today. The gleaning laws listed in Deuteronomy and Leviticus established gleaning as a practice in which the most vulnerable and impoverished inhabitants of Israelite society could participate, including aliens, widows, and orphans (Lev. 19:10, 23:22; Deut. 24:19-22).⁷⁷ Each of these social classes was without land or a kinship network that could provide them with life sustaining support, thereby forcing them to rely on their host societies for their welfare.⁷⁸ Ruth’s situation is unique in that Boaz is actually a part of her kinship network in a foreign land, but Ruth can nevertheless be considered be among the vulnerable as neither she nor Boaz were aware of their relationship when she gleaned in his fields. Gleaning is an enactment of *hesed* as well as faith, as it challenges the practitioners of *hesed* to participate in actions that benefit the vulnerable, and cannot be reciprocated, and to trust that God will provide.

⁷⁴ T.J. Gorringer, *The Common Good and the Global Emergency; God and the Built Environment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 49.

⁷⁵ Gorringer, *The Common Good and the Global Emergency*, 48.

⁷⁶ Davis, *Who Are You, My Daughter?: Reading Ruth through Image and Text*, xv.

⁷⁷ Gleaning commandments are found in Lev. 19:10, 23:22; Deut. 24:19-22. Only the poor and alien are specified in the Leviticus commandments, and the alien, widow, and orphan are specified in the Deuteronomy commandment.

⁷⁸ Instances of aliens being included among others who are vulnerable in the Hebrew Bible include: Ex. 22:21-23; Lev. 19:10; Lev. 23:22; Dt. 10:18; Dt. 14:29; Dt. 16:11, 14; Dt. 24:14, 17; 19-22; Dt. 26:12; Dt. 27:19; Jer. 7:6; Zech. 7:10.

The gleaning command in Deuteronomy integrated Israel's identity as aliens in Egypt as a motivating clause, instructing the Israelites, "When you gather the grapes of your vineyard, do not glean what is left; it shall be for the alien, the orphan, and the widow. Remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt; therefore I am commanding you to do this" (Deut. 24:21-22). The gleaning commands in Leviticus included the rejoinder, "I am the Lord your God" (Lev. 19:10, 23:22), and the gleaning command within Deuteronomy reminded the Israelites, "Remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt; therefore I am commanding you to do this" (Deut. 24:20). Replicating the reasons Israel is to treat the alien with love and justice, the Israelites are instructed to embody these commands in actions that benefit the alien and other vulnerable people in their community. Gleaning is a social welfare provision that allows the vulnerable to gather food from the crops in order to prevent starvation, but like contemporary welfare structures, it does not create economic independence.⁷⁹ Despite its inability to create independence, gleaning does not replicate the unjust dependency of the surrounding nations upon Egypt, which was engaged in the previous chapter. Instead, the gleaning commands achieve and expand the same ends of the Jubilee law, which Michael Northcott describes as being "designed quite explicitly to prevent debt slavery and landlessness, and hence maldistribution of the gifts of the creation, among the people of Israel."⁸⁰ Gleaning as a practice among aliens and the vulnerable ensures justice within Israelite society by providing for the basic need of food and preventing unjust dependency. As an act of *hesed*, gleaning is based not only on the commands of God and the identity of the Israelites as God's people but on the understanding that the land ultimately belongs to God and that the world is in relationship governed by God.⁸¹ Gleaning reminds the

⁷⁹ Davis, "Beginning with Ruth: An Essay on Translating," 12. Katherine Doob Sakenfeld, *Just Wives? Stories of Power and Survival in the Old Testament and Today* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 33. Richard H. Hiers, "Biblical Social Welfare Legislation: Protected Classes and Provisions for Persons in Need," *Journal of Law and Religion* 17, no. 1/2 (2002): 49.

⁸⁰ Michael S. Northcott, "Soil, Stewardship and Spirit in the Era of Chemical Agriculture," in *Environmental Stewardship: Critical Perspectives - Past and Present*, ed. R.J. Berry (London: T&T Clark International, 2006), 215.

⁸¹ James McKeown, *Ruth*, The Two Horizons Old Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2015), 117. Norman C. Habel, *The Land Is Mine: Six Biblical Land Ideologies*, *Overtures to Biblical Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1995), 98. Hiers, "Biblical Social Welfare Legislation: Protected Classes and Provisions for

owners of the land that their role is a “custodial” one, and that others are granted the right to turn to the land as a provision for life.⁸²

Gleaning is a pragmatic social provision instructing landowners to give from their abundance, and seen in this light, gleaning is an act of trust that God will continue to provide.⁸³ In the Exodus event, as the Israelites fled Egypt, God provided manna in the wilderness, but also instructed them that *no one is to keep any of it until the morning*, in order to elicit trust among the Israelites (Ex. 16:19).⁸⁴ Jonathan Burnside connects gleaning to the experience of the Israelites in the wilderness and their instructions not to hoard manna, asserting, “reenacting the manna story creates the conditions for social justice, both symbolically and in practice.”⁸⁵ The practice of gleaning prevents hoarding because whatever excess is left in the fields belongs to the vulnerable. The gleaning laws enact *hesed* by regulating relationships between individuals and ultimately God, thereby making a new life as God’s people possible. As Burnside asserts, “The ban on hoarding was a complete break from life in Egypt: after all, the point of the Israelites’ slave labor was to build storage cities for Pharaoh (Exodus 1:11).”⁸⁶ Gleaning not only provides practical care to the vulnerable, but involves an act of trust that reveals a counter cultural character among those who participate.

Gleaning demonstrates the interconnected nature of the world, by highlighting the relationship between individuals living in society together, and how their mutual relations can be shaped by the ability of the land to provide. Gleaning, as well as *hesed*, contradicts the social contract theories of mutual advantage and shared sacrifice that seem to permeate the world today.⁸⁷ Gleaning reflects ancient

Persons in Need,” 69. Christiana de Groot van Houten, *The Alien in Israelite Law*, Journal for the study of the Old Testament supplement series (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 79.

⁸² Northcott, “Soil, Stewardship and Spirit in the Era of Chemical Agriculture,” 215.

⁸³ Harold V. Bennett, *Injustice Made Legal; Deuteronomic Law and the Plight of Widows, Strangers, and Orphans in Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2002), 104.

⁸⁴ Jonathan Burnside, *God, Justice, and Society: Aspects of Law and Legality in the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 237.

⁸⁵ Burnside, *God, Justice, and Society*, 237.

⁸⁶ Burnside, *God, Justice, and Society*, 237.

⁸⁷ Rawls describes people joining together for “a mutually advantageous cooperative venture” and asserts that “we are not to gain from the cooperative labors of others without doing our fair share,” in Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, 96. Nussbaum identifies this trait in Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership*, 4.

Israel's understanding of the dynamic nature of the cosmos and God's relations with humanity and the land reflected in the Noahic covenant. Northcott asserts that in ancient Israel,

The concept of vice-regency implies relation both to Yahweh the Creator, and to the earth, the realm of creatures. It further implies right relations, for only when humans order their distribution and use of the earth justly and righteously – so as to maintain right relations among the people of God and to give space to the other animals – will their tenure of the earth be rewarded with its fertility and divine blessing. When humans abandon right relations, with each other and with all creatures, the earth itself will lose its fertility and the ground will cry out for justice, according to the traditions of ancient Israel.⁸⁸

The gleaning laws represent an act of *hesed* by ensuring just relationships between landowners and the vulnerable, and as an act of *hesed*, reflect belief that right action was not justified by direct reciprocal relationships, but an overall dynamic of the world. Gleaning was possible because the land provided for both the landowner and vulnerable, and the gleaning laws ensured just relationships within Israelite society.

While gleaning continues today, it is no longer a practice demanded by justice, but is a charitable practice that is often enacted by churches and other community-based organizations on behalf of the poor. As the protected borders of nation-states are extended to the private sphere, private property makes gleaning a charitable practice that is freely embraced or denied by landowners.⁸⁹ Unlike the biblical commands that necessitated care for the widow, orphan, and alien from the land, no such instruction or demand is required of landowners today. Additionally, even when gleaning is permitted, modern farming equipment and practices have resulted in a reduced amount of food left behind to glean. As Rachel Fuchs describes, "Toward the end of the century, however, mechanized harvesting and reaping machines reduced the amount of grain that the poor could get from gleaning."⁹⁰ The biblical practice of gleaning provided for the physical needs of the impoverished from the land, and while this practice continues today, it is no longer

⁸⁸ Northcott, "Soil, Stewardship and Spirit in the Era of Chemical Agriculture," 216.

⁸⁹ Northcott explains, "The Old Testament has no conception of absolute ownership such as moderns..." in Northcott, "Soil, Stewardship and Spirit in the Era of Chemical Agriculture," 217.

⁹⁰ Rachel Ginnis Fuchs, *Gender and Poverty in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, New Approaches to European History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 91.

attached to a concept of justice that entails communal provisions for the vulnerable, but enacted as a matter of charity. In addition to the worthwhile charitable contributions of gleaning, it is a practice that entails trust and faith in God. The faith that the land will continue to provide, and trust that one is in a position to give from their land or own abundance to the vulnerable, promotes a notion of sacrifice from one's abundance, that I will further explore in the following chapters.

9. *Hesed*, Inclusion, and the Identity of the Church

As over one million migrants arrived within the borders of the EU in 2015, Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban argued that “those arriving have been raised in another religion, and represent a radically different culture,” and articulated fears of an eroding European identity.⁹¹ Despite such fears, Pope Francis instructed churches and religious communities to extend care and hospitality to at least one refugee family in their midst.⁹² A recent *Economist* article identified the “two diametrically opposing ways” of politicians and churches, asserting that “European church and religious charities have played a prominent role in succouring migrants and campaigning for them to be treated decently,” while “politicians on the nationalist right are beating the drum of Christian nativism; they have redoubled their warnings about the threat to Europe’s long-established religious culture.”⁹³

⁹¹ Robert Mackey, "Hungarian Leader Rebuked for Saying Muslim Migrants Must Be Blocked 'to Keep Europe Christian'," *The New York Times*, Sept. 3, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/04/world/europe/hungarian-leader-rebuked-for-saying-muslim-migrants-must-be-blocked-to-keep-europe-christian.html?_r=0 (April 14, 2016).

⁹² Anthony Faiola, Michael Birnbaum, "Pope Calls on Europe's Catholics to Take In Refugees," *The Washington Post*, Sept. 6, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/refugees-keep-streaming-into-europe-as-crisis-continues-unabated/2015/09/06/8a330572-5345-11e5-b225-90edbd49f362_story.html (accessed on April 16, 2016). Pope Francis took 12 refugees from Greece back to the Vatican with him, Jim Yardley, "Pope Francis Takes 12 Refugees Back to Vatican After Trip to Greece," *The New York Times*, April 16, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/17/world/europe/pope-francis-visits-lesbos-heart-of-europes-refugee-crisis.html?_r=0 (accessed on April 18, 2016). For an account of the engagement of Pope Francis with migrants, see Gioacchino Campese CS, "'You Are Close to the Church's Heart': Pope Francis and Migrants," in *Church in an Age of Global Migration: A Moving Body*, ed. Susanna Snyder, Joshua Ralston, Agnes M. Brazal (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016).

⁹³ Erasmus Blog to Erasmus; Religion and Public Policy, Diverse, Desperate Migrants Have Divided European Christians, *The Economist*, Sept. 6, 2015,

Despite fears or concerns over the identity of receiving nations, the Church is called to act with *hesed* based on a courage derived from how God acts towards humanity in Jesus Christ. The love of God extended to humanity in Jesus Christ, and represented in allegorical interpretations of the parable of the Good Samaritan, which I explore in the following chapter, define a love that is freely given to people in need. The allegorical interpretations of the patristic exegesis, which describe the universal inclusion of both Gentiles and Jews into the life of the Church, challenge the contemporary Church to remain open to those who are culturally different and extend hospitality and justice to the alien. The enactment of *hesed* reveals that love and care is freely extended with no expectation of direct reciprocity, which in the case of extending love and hospitality to migrants does not necessarily entail their entrance into the Church, but the community of which the Church is a part. Amid fears of an eroding cultural identity within certain communities, churches are bound by their communitarian character to be universal in its extension of love and hospitality. The distinct identity of the Church, is that it extends welcome, inclusion, and integration, even at its peril, and such an extension of care serves as a prophetic witness to the world to which it ministers. The identity of the Church is not at risk from the extension of care to those who are different, but only when that care is denied, because the Church is commanded to give such love because they have received such love. The concerns of the nation-state are different, and the inclusion of migrants represents a threat to common identity, which is tangible and potent for many. In response to such fears, remembering the historical inclusion and integration of European migrants facing hostility before hospitality in the U.S. in previous centuries, or Jews fleeing Nazi Germany might not offer much relief. Even the gradual assimilation of migrants may not minimize the tangible signs of difference that abound in various places, but at this point, individuals are challenged to determine whether the nation-state or the Church is the locus of their identity. The Church is by definition a community marked by its identity as God's people, and within this common identity there is scope for diversity.

<http://www.economist.com/blogs/erasmus/2015/09/migrants-christianity-and-europe> (accessed on April 14, 2016).

10. Conclusion

In this chapter, I engaged the book of Ruth as a prism to reveal the challenges and blessings of integrating migrants into receiving communities. Naomi's migration and living as a resident alien in Moab due to famine, alongside Ruth's experience of being a resident alien in Bethlehem, are paradigmatic of migration throughout the Hebrew Bible and relevant to contemporary issues of migration. Within the biblical narrative, I discern a dynamic integration through the mutual exchange of *hesed* that is instructive to the Church in extending hospitality to migrants by aiding integration in receiving nation-states today. Through patristic exegesis, I examined not only how Ruth the Moabite's marriage to Boaz and subsequent role in the genealogy of Jesus Christ is critical to demonstrating the hybridity of the Church, but how allegorical interpretations emphasized the inclusion of the Gentiles and Jews in the formation of the early church. As I detected through an engagement with contemporary exegetes, however, this hybrid identity is contentious as they detect oscillation between a universal cosmopolitan acceptance of outsiders and a communitarian inscription of a homogenous identity within Ruth's assimilation into Israelite society in Bethlehem. Rather than interpreting the book of Ruth as depicting a cosmopolitan acceptance of other cultures or a communitarian argument for complete assimilation, I contend that the book of Ruth promotes dynamic integration through the exchange of *hesed*, and that this is instructive to integrating migrants into receiving communities today. The normative moral claims within this narrative, and arising from examination of its interpretations, is that the Church should lend aid to migrants arriving in receiving communities as a part of its hybrid identity, while also facilitating a dynamic integration that reshapes migrants and receiving communities through the exchange of *hesed*.

Evidenced by Ruth's inclusion in the genealogy of Jesus Christ, and emphasized in the allegorical interpretations of patristic and medieval exegesis, the Church has a hybrid identity. Patristic exegesis reinforced the hybridity demonstrated in Ruth's inclusion in the genealogy of Jesus by utilizing allegory to signify the incorporation of the Gentiles alongside the Jews in the formation of the early Church through the extension of *hesed* to and on behalf of Ruth. Ruth, the migrant, modeled *hesed* as she stayed by Naomi's side when they journeyed to Bethlehem together and

then gleaned the fields to provide sustenance for herself and Naomi, and was lauded for her *hesed* towards Boaz. Boaz, a resident of Bethlehem, also acted with *hesed* towards Ruth, by allowing her to glean in his fields, and showing that within the book of Ruth, *hesed* is enacted by aliens and citizens. In the biblical narrative, alongside this exchange of *hesed*, Ruth becomes part of Israelite life by marrying Boaz, having a child, Obed, and becoming part of the genealogy of Jesus. Allegory emphasized the hybridity and dynamic integration that arises through *hesed* by interpreting the book of Ruth as revealing the inclusion of the Gentiles and Jews in the early Church. In this chapter, I contend that *hesed* and hybridity in the book of Ruth reveals a dynamic integration that reshapes migrants and the receiving community, and counters calls for either the complete assimilation of migrants or a plurality of static cultures in a receiving nation-state. Churches can promote dynamic integration by simultaneously lending aid to migrants by being practitioners of *hesed* and welcoming others into congregational life and the communities into which the church worships. Instead of viewing migrants as threats to an allegedly homogenous identity, their presence in receiving communities is an opportunity to extend biblical hospitality. Arising from this chapter's engagement with the book of Ruth, I argue that the distinct identity of the Church is not at risk from the inclusion or extension of care to those who are different, but only when that care is denied.

Seeking to abide by biblical commands to care for the alien, churches can extend aid to migrants arriving to new places. Just as Boaz allowed Ruth to glean in his fields, churches can participate in gleaning today through working the fields to donate to soup kitchens and food pantries, contributing to organizations that aid settlement, and using their own social capital to help in the settlement of refugees. Churches might locate and furnish a home, provide basic necessities such as food or clothing, facilitate safe places for laborers to secure work, launch tutoring schemes, and provide practical advice for settling in new places. As churches extend practical aid to migrants according to biblical commands, they also demonstrate an openness and respect to migrants arising from their unique identity as practitioners of *hesed*. The enactment of *hesed* within the book of Ruth reveals that love is extended as an act of both charity and justice with no expectation of direct reciprocity. While churches enact this mission towards migrants, who are unable to directly reciprocate,

I argue that by following biblical commands to care for the alien, the practitioners of *hesed* are nevertheless shaped by God. Humanity cannot be in a reciprocally equal relationship with God, but humanity can serve God by serving humanity. The book of Ruth demonstrates that individuals not only act in accordance to Torah through adherence to laws and customs, but in their relations with others, and particularly to and between widows and aliens. The extension of aid and hospitality to migrants recognizes people, no matter where they are from, as being worthy of care and respect based solely upon their personhood, and not their nationality or legal status within a receiving community.

Emphasizing that contemporary churches should be practitioners of *hesed*, I contend that churches should not only extend hospitality and aid to migrants, but that churches must be open to the change that takes place through their encounter with migrants. The dynamic exchange of *hesed* that I identify in the book of Ruth involves the mutual transformation of migrants and their receiving communities. More than extending aid to passive recipients, churches that participate in providing aid might find themselves being transformed in the process. Within this chapter, I identified a dynamic integration between migrants and the places that receive them, and argue that it is not only the lives of migrants that will be shaped by outreach to migrants, but the character of the Church. The impact of migration is already evident in churches throughout the world that would be near empty without an influx of migrants into their communities. In addition to the inclusion of migrants into existing churches, “so-called immigrant churches—are emerging,” of which “some of these are affiliated with and based in historic Anglo churches...while others are novel.”⁹⁴ I argue that churches must be open to receiving migrants into their congregations. Representative of *hesed*, Kristin Heyer asserts that “the church must continue to guard against a missionary or ‘assistential’ stance toward migrants; its witness and welcome will be better served by a stance of genuine mutuality, a move from charity to kinship.”⁹⁵ By extending aid in the integration of migrants not only into receiving

⁹⁴ Susanna Snyder, “Faces of Migration: US Christianity in the Twenty-First Century,” in *Christianities in Migration: The Global Perspective*, ed. Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), 227.

⁹⁵ Kristen E. Heyer, “The Promise of a Pilgrim Church: Ecclesiological Reflections on the Ethical Praxis of Kinship with Migrants,” in *Church in an Age of Global Migration: A*

communities but churches, churches live into the hybrid identity articulated within the book of Ruth.

While kinship in the form of church membership must remain a possibility, I argue that in the case of extending love and hospitality to migrants, this kinship does not have to entail their entrance into the Church, but the community that the Church is a part of. While an influx of migrants is transforming the membership of some churches, not all migrants are Christians, and I argue that a normative moral claim arising within this chapter is that *hesed* mandates that aid should be extended to all, regardless of ethnic or religious difference. For this reason, I argue that, in contrast to nation-states, the church's reception of migrants does not necessitate their becoming a temporary or permanent member of the church. As an outpouring of *hesed*, the aid extended by churches is done without any expectation that such aid will be returned or that the individuals who receive aid will join in membership. Aware of competing interpretations of the book of Ruth providing either a cosmopolitan vision for a singular community that supersedes ethnic differences or a communitarian reinscribing of differences that cosmopolitan interpretations seemingly erase, I argue that churches must attempt to aid integration while also respecting the religious practices of migrants. Through this reading of the book of Ruth, I contend that the extension of aid should be administered based upon the religious identity of those who extend it, and not on the religious identity of those who are recipients.

Through an engagement with allegorical interpretations of the book of Ruth, I have argued against the static understandings of national identity and consciousness that oppose the integration of newcomers. This argument has employed Ruth as a prism that reveals the challenges faced by both migrants and receiving communities, and has ultimately discerned that the integration of strangers into society entails the exchange of *hesed*. I argued that the book of Ruth demonstrates the hybridity of cultures which is evident in the world today, and that the inclusion of migrants dynamically shapes the community in ways that challenge static understandings of culture. Extending *hesed* to migrants challenges the Church to question the logic of nation-states that are concerned with preserving sovereignty through nation-building

Moving Body, ed. Susanna Snyder, Joshua Ralston, Agnes M. Brazal (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), 93.

projects that depend upon notions of a homogenous national consciousness as described in Chapter 1. *Hesed* also challenges understandings of mutual advantage and the equality of sacrifice that are integral to social contract theories, which I engage in the following two chapters. In this chapter, I asserted that a normative moral claim arising from engagement with the book of Ruth is that understanding the Church as a hybrid group of wanderers and aliens, entails their playing a critical role in lending aid to migrants and aiding their integration in the communities to which they travel.

Chapter 6: The Good Samaritan Parable: Near and Distant Neighbors

1. Introduction

As part of this thesis's goal of developing a theological ethics of migration, this chapter addresses the question to which individuals are nation-states morally or legally required to extend aid, and what, if any, are the limits of the aid extended? During the Second World War, Reinhold Niebuhr identified "the double challenge" to national sovereignty as "the old force of universality which challenges nationalistic particularism is the sense of universal moral obligation, transcending the geographic and other limits of historic communities," and "the new force of universality [which] is the global interdependence of nations, achieved by a technical civilization."¹ Utilizing the parable of the Good Samaritan, this chapter engages the double challenge of universal human rights and the interconnected nature of the world, while maintaining the particularity of the encounter between the Good Samaritan and the wounded traveler on the Jericho Road. The Good Samaritan provided aid and rescue to the wounded traveler despite ethnic differences, thereby granting insights into issues of geographical and moral proximity in the extension of aid and rescue. This chapter examines how the parable depicts an indiscriminate love that is universal in *potential* but particular in *actual* practice, and shapes how Christians abide by biblical commands to love aliens by providing aid and rescue in the world today.

After asserting the urgency for developing an enlarged understanding of neighbors, I engage with allegorical interpretations of the parable of the Good Samaritan that assert humanity's universal need for Jesus Christ, and then addresses how this universal need creates a universal understanding of neighbors. As will be demonstrated, however, there are pragmatic concerns, such as the limited ability of humans to love in actuality everyone in the world, that theologians wrestle with while maintaining universal love towards neighbors. The chapter concludes by addressing the 1980s Sanctuary Movement in the Southwest U.S., which understood itself as acting in response to the inability of the U.S. Government to employ the

¹ Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness: A Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of Its Traditional Defenders* (London: Nisbet, 1945), 105.

Refugee Act of 1980. In response, churches employed the biblical and historical tradition of sanctuary and became sites of refuge to people on the road. This chapter undertakes a postmodern exegesis of the parable of the Good Samaritan that integrates allegorical interpretations of patristic and medieval exegesis alongside contemporary utilizations of the parable within theology and political science to reveal an understanding of the neighbor that implies care for citizens and aliens, and those who are geographically or morally near and distant.

2. "And Who Is My Neighbor?"

Definitions of neighbors based upon geographical and moral proximity are critical to who we determine ourselves to be morally required to provide aid and hospitality. For example, contemporary asylum laws in the U.S. and U.K. mandate that asylum seekers be physically present within their borders to apply for refugee status.² While in these instances, becoming a legally recognized neighbor necessitates geographical proximity, it is increasingly difficult to cross borders in order to officially file such claims.³ Despite NAFTA and climate change augmenting migration to the U.S., strengthening the border between the U.S. and Mexico is a requirement of U.S. immigration reform, and European nations have fortified borders in the face of the European Refugee Crisis.⁴ In an assertion that is applicable to the current situation, Gil Loescher writes that Western "governments act as though the most effective way to limit asylum-seekers is to prevent them from arriving in the first place," and that "now asylum is not only difficult to obtain, but it is becoming increasingly difficult even to reach a point at which an application can be made."⁵ The moral demands arising from geographical proximity are so strong that nation-

² U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services states, "To apply for asylum in the U.S., you must be physically present in the U.S. or seeking entry into the U.S. at a port of entry," in U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, "The Affirmative Asylum Process," <http://www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/refugees-asylum/asylum/affirmative-asylum-process>, (accessed on January 4, 2015).

³ David Miller, "Justice in Immigration," *European Journal of Political Theory* 14(4) (2015): 397.

⁴ Ben Brumfield, "Immigration Bill: No Path to Residency Without a Secure Border," *CNN*, April 16, 2013, <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/04/16/politics/immigration-bill/> (accessed on April 26, 2016). "How is the Migrant Crisis Dividing EU Countries?."

⁵ Gil Loescher, "Refugees and the Asylum Dilemma in the West," in *Refugees and the Asylum Dilemma in the West*, ed. Gil Loescher (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 2,3.

states are making it more difficult for foreigners to become a geographical neighbor within their territorial borders by withdrawing aid and rescue to deter these journeys. The UNHCR estimates that 2,500 refugees and migrants died crossing the Mediterranean Sea in the first eight months of 2015.⁶ The Mare Nostrum Search and Rescue Operation of the Italian Navy, which was founded after the tragedy at Lampedusa and is funded primarily by the EU, conducted search and rescue operations in the Mediterranean Sea.⁷ While approximately 3,000 migrants died crossing the Mediterranean in 2014, Mare Nostrum rescued around 150,000 that year.⁸ Despite such success, the U.K. ceased their funding of Mare Nostrum in 2015, claiming that “planned search and rescue in the Mediterranean...create[s] an unintended ‘pull factor,’ encouraging more migrants to attempt the dangerous sea crossing and thereby leading to more tragic and unnecessary deaths.”⁹ The defunding of the Mare Nostrum Operation raises critical questions regarding the moral responsibility to provide aid and rescue to migrants, which this chapter examines through the parable of the Good Samaritan.

Owing to the interconnected nature of the world, already discussed, I argue that definitions of neighbors can no longer be circumscribed by geographical proximity, but must include increasingly more people due to the impact exerted economically, politically, and socially throughout the world. Globalization entails increased economic and social interactions across borders, and the disproportionate impact of climate change being felt by nations that have least contributed to it

⁶ UN News Centre, "More than 3,000 Make Perilous Mediterranean Crossing in 2015 - UN Refugee Agency," news release, Aug. 28, 2015, accessed on April 26, 2016, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=51748#.VgwHwLTZrds>.

⁷ A boat full of people fleeing Eritrea capsized drowning over 300 people. The New Yorker reports, “They had made a difficult crossing through the Sahara and Libya by car and on foot, only to pay several times the price of a plane ticket to be packed shoulder to shoulder on a boat too small and too old for their numbers” in Mattathias Schwartz, "The Anniversary of the Lampedusa Tragedy," *The New Yorker*, Oct. 3, 2014, <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/anniversary-lampedusa-tragedy> (accessed on April 27, 2016).

⁸ BBC News, "EU Migrants: Reduced Mediterranean Mission Set to Go," *BBC News*, Oct. 31, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-29856458> (accessed on April 26, 2016).

⁹ Joyce Anelay, Britain’s Foreign Office Minister made this comment to the House of Lords, and is cited in Adam Chandler, "What Does Europe Owe Fleeing Migrants?," *The Atlantic*, April 22, 2015, <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/04/what-does-europe-owe-fleeing-migrants/391155/> (accessed on May 3, 2016).

reveals that “the air does not obey national boundaries.”¹⁰ While climate change and migration are revealing with increasing urgency that we live on a shared planet, individual nation-states continue to provide important benefits to citizens, as well as aliens.¹¹ While universal interdependence among nation-states creates a moral concern larger than the territories of particular nation-states, it is often within closed national territories that moral concern is exercised.¹² In the case of refugees, for example, nation-states provide protections such as non-refoulement and a new polity that enables refugees to live without fear of further persecution.¹³ When nation-states fail to provide these protections, however, Christians and churches are put in the precarious position of balancing biblical commands, political membership, and the needs of their neighbors. In these instances, the Church is challenged by the examples of Shiprah and Puah, and Pharaoh’s daughter to be the Church in the face of the contrasting will of the nation-state.

3. Humanity Left for Dead on the Roadside: Universal Need for Christ

Patristic exegesis of the parable of the Good Samaritan provided a universal definition of neighbors that was based upon the universal need of humanity for Jesus Christ. While modern exegetes of the parable frequently challenge their audience to understand themselves as being Good Samaritans to those in need, patristic exegesis allegorically interpreted Jesus Christ as the Good Samaritan and sinful humanity as the wounded traveler in need of aid and rescue from God.¹⁴ While patristic exegesis articulated ethical concerns, it primarily developed a theological vision for shaping

¹⁰ Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," 12.

¹¹ As Luke Bretherton states, “The status of the liberal, capitalist nation-state as an instance of Babylon should never be underestimated; however, there is still a need to think constructively about the nation-state as an arena of earthly friendship and peace,” in Bretherton, *Christianity and Contemporary Politics: The Conditions and Possibilities of Faithful Witness*, 126.

¹² Benhabib, *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents and Citizens*, 37.

¹³ Bretherton, *Christianity and Contemporary Politics: The Conditions and Possibilities of Faithful Witness*, 129. UNHCR, "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees," Article 33.

¹⁴ Roland Teske asserts that “Jean Daniélou complained that modern exegetes have all but unanimously interpreted the parable of the Good Samaritan as providing a concrete example of a moral lesson about the identity of our neighbor and the way we are to love that neighbors,” in Roland Teske, "The Good Samaritan (Lk 10:29-37) in Augustine's Exegesis," in *Augustine; Biblical Exegete*, ed. Frederick Van Fleteren, Joseph C. Schnaubelt, OSA (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 2004), 347.

the Church in the centuries after the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Origen, for example, was concerned with refuting Celsus, and Augustine sought to disprove Pelagius's belief that humanity could achieve salvation on its own.¹⁵ As a result of these theological concerns, the allegorical interpretations of patristic exegesis provided a theological definition of the neighbor that was universal in scope, and until Augustine, did not address ethical implications that might narrow the scope of this universal definition.

Patristic exegesis of the parable of the Good Samaritan allegorically interpreted humanity as the wounded traveler in dire need of God's rescue and aid, and understood each of the elements utilized by the Samaritan as necessary components for salvation.¹⁶ In a manner that is characteristic of these allegorical interpretations, Origen allegorically interpreted the parable as follows:

The man who was going down is Adam. Jerusalem is paradise, and Jericho is the world. The robbers are hostile powers. The priest is the Law, the Levite is the prophets, and the Samaritan is Christ. The wounds are disobedience, the beast is the Lord's body, the padochium (that is, the stable), which accepts all who wish to enter, is the Church. And further, the two denarii mean the Father and the Son. The manager of the stable is the head of the Church, to whom its care has been entrusted. And the fact that the Samaritan promises he will return presents the Savior's second coming.¹⁷

Patristic exegesis described humanity's need for Jesus Christ to provide salvation, and interpreted the bandages, oil, beast of burden, and inn, as signs of earthly healing that ultimately guide individuals towards salvation. Jesus Christ, according to Clement of Alexandria, is "the only physician...who cuts out the passions thoroughly by the root," and "poured wine on our wounded souls (the blood of David's vine), that brought the oil which flows from the compassions of the Father, and bestowed it copiously."¹⁸ The wounded traveler was "not able to mount up to the heights of righteousness as he was able to descend therefrom," and required "that

¹⁵ Gerald Bonner, "Augustine as Biblical Scholar," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. P.R. Ackroyd, C.F. Evans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 561.

¹⁶ See table of allegorical interpretations of the parable in the Appendix.

¹⁷ Origen, "Homily 34," in *Fathers of the Church; Origen Homilies on Luke*, ed. Joseph T. Lienhard (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 138.

¹⁸ Clement of Alexandria, "Who is the Rich Man that shall be Saved?," in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers : translations of the writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, ed. A. Cleveland Coxe, James Donaldson, and Alexander Roberts (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 599.

very Saviour from whose creative hand nature itself proceeded.”¹⁹ Irenaeus affirmed this traditional pattern of patristic exegesis, and the necessity of Christ for the salvation of helpless and sinful humanity, explaining,

Wherefore the dew of God is needed by us, that we be not scorched, nor made unfruitful, and that where we have an accuser, there also we may have an advocate. Even as the Lord commits to the Holy Ghost that man of His, who had fallen among thieves; whom He did Himself pity, and bound up his wounds, giving two royal pennies, that we receiving by the Spirit the image and inscription of the Father and the Son, might cause the penny entrusted to us to bear fruit, accounting for it to the Lord with manifold increase.²⁰

Patristic and medieval exegesis established that God alone has the ability to provide for humanity's salvation, and salvation from the wounds inflicted by the world cannot come from the world. Jean Daniélou asserted that for Irenaeus, “man in his entirety is taken up by the Word and to man the Spirit communicates incorruptibility. But it is not only human nature, it is historic man with all his past, who is restored by the action of the Word.”²¹

Patristic exegesis emphasized the anagogical sense within allegory by understanding Jerusalem as heaven and Jericho as the world, and asserted that “the Savior descended so that He might accompany and assist the soul in its journey of ascent to the true promised land.”²² Origen claimed, “We frequently find Jericho to be placed in Scripture as a figure of this world,” and that the wounded traveler is “undoubtedly a type of that Adam who was driven from paradise into the exile of this world.”²³ In a homily on the prophet Jeremiah, Origen framed the purpose of the

¹⁹ Augustine, "On Nature and Grace," in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Philip Schaff (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997), 138, 142.

²⁰ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, ed. John Keble, trans. John Keble, A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church (Oxford: James Parker & Co., 1872), 273. Riemer Roukema assert that because “Irenaeus refers to the story of the Good Samaritan only in passing, without accounting for its allegorical interpretation, implies that he considers it as self-evident,” in Riemer Roukema, "The Good Samaritan in Ancient Christianity," *Vigiliae Christianae* 58, no. 1 (Feb. 2004): 60.

²¹ Jean Daniélou and Henri Irénée Marrou, *The First Six Hundred Years*, trans. Vincent Cronin, The Christian Centuries (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1964), 112.

²² Rowan A. Greer, "Introduction," in *Origen; An Exhortation to Martyrdom, Prayer, and Selected Works*, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1979), 18.

²³ Origen, "Homily 6," in *Homilies on Joshua; The Fathers of the Church*, ed. Cynthia White (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2002), 72.

Israelites in the Babylonian Captivity as restoring “Babylon to health,” and conceptualized Christians being in the world to perform a similar task, arguing, “And when we apply them and imitate the Samaritan we *bind up the wounds* of *Babylon* so that the wretched city may be healed, and once cured, she may cease to be what she had been.”²⁴ Interpreting the parable as the salvation of humanity by Jesus Christ, patristic exegesis emphasized the purposefulness and intentionality of the Good Samaritan’s journey along the Jericho Road. Jesus Christ was part of God’s eternal plan for creation, and therefore, the Good Samaritan’s journey on the Jericho Road was part of God’s eternal plan for salvation. As Origen described,

For, the priest saw him—I think this means the Law. And the Levite saw him—that is, in my view, the prophetic word. When they had seen him, they passed by and left him. Providence was saving the half-dead man for him who was stronger than the Law and the prophets, namely for the Samaritan. The name means ‘guardian.’ He is the one who ‘neither grows drowsy nor sleeps as he guards Israel.’ On account of the half-dead man, this Samaritan set out not ‘from Jerusalem into Jericho,’ like the priest and the Levite who went down. Or, if he did go down, he went to rescue and care for the dying man.²⁵

The Good Samaritan, Jesus Christ, alone was strong enough to provide the aid and rescue required by the wounded traveler, and Origen and Clement both understood the bandages, wine, and oil, as well as the beast of burden and money to pay the innkeeper, as evidence of the intentionality of the Good Samaritan’s journey.²⁶

Origen’s exegesis of the parable demonstrated the fourfold sense of scripture described by Henri de Lubac by interpreting the historical encounter between two people on the Jericho Road in ways that integrated allegory, tropology, and anagogy, and served as “a full statement of our collective history.”²⁷ While de Lubac identified allegory and tropology becoming fulfilled when they united in anagogy, patristic exegesis of the parable of the Good Samaritan described how allegory and anagogy united to develop the tropological, or moral, sense of the parable.²⁸ Patristic exegesis

²⁴ Origen, “Homily 28,” in *Origen; Homilies on Jeremiah; Homily on Kings* 28, ed. Thomas P Halton (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1998), 270.

²⁵ Origen, “Homily 34,” 139.

²⁶ Origen, “Homily 34,” 139. Clement of Alexandria, “Who is the Rich Man that shall be Saved?,” 599.

²⁷ Henri de Lubac, *Catholicism; Christ and the Common Destiny of Man*, trans. Lancelot C. Sheppard, Sister Elizabeth Englund, OCD (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 1950), 204.

²⁸ de Lubac, *Theological Fragments*, 118.

allegorically interpreted anagogy in salvation, and the universal need amongst humanity for Jesus Christ inspired the moral sense of acting as a neighbor to all humanity based upon a shared dependence upon the salvific action of Jesus Christ enacted on the Jericho Road. Origen employed the tropological sense of scripture when he challenged his congregants, “Let your care for others be shown in that you go out of yourselves, wholly and entirely, in helping and ministering,” and asked, “Is the example of the Good Samaritan imitated in its several aspects in your own dealings with others?”²⁹ Christians imitate the Good Samaritan when they serve others within the world, and “bind up their wounds by the gospel, and pour medicines of the gospels upon the soul festering with evils, like the wine, olive-oil and emollient, and the other medicinal aids which relieve the soul.”³⁰

Defining neighbors with reference to the universal need among humanity for God’s salvific action in Jesus Christ, patristic exegesis asserted a definition of neighbors that was not defined by morally arbitrary traits such as citizenship, race, ethnicity, or religion, but by the universal dependence of humanity on God identified in the parable of the Good Samaritan. In this way, geographical and moral proximity were irrelevant, and as Origen argued,

Indeed, by nature we are all neighbors of one another; but by deeds of loving affection that person becomes a neighbor who can do good to the one who has no power. That is why our Savior was also made our neighbor, and He did not pass us by when we were lying half dead from the wounds inflicted by the robbers. Therefore, we must know that loving affection for God always strives toward God from whom it took its origin, and it has regard for the neighbor with whom it shows participation, since he was similarly created in incorruption.³¹

The allegorical interpretations of patristic exegesis recognized a universal definition of the neighbor that was developed from a theological concern for establishing humanity’s universal dependence upon God. While Origen issued the tropological challenge to act like the Good Samaritan, he and other patristic exegetes were

²⁹ Origen, "Sermon XL," in *Origen the Preacher: Being Fifty Short Sermon Notes Founded upon Select Passages from his Writings*, ed. John M. Ashley (London: J.T. Hayes, 1878), 196, 198.

³⁰ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, ed. Henry Chadwick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 169.

³¹ Origen, "The Prologue to the Commentary on the Song of Songs," in *Origen; An Exhortation to Martyrdom, Prayer, and Selected Works*, ed. Rowan A. Greer, *The Classics of Western Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 226.

primarily concerned with establishing theological truth for the early Christian community.

4. Reformation Exegesis: Universal Definitions of the Neighbor

While Martin Luther and John Calvin claimed to reject allegorical hermeneutics, Luther's interpretations of the parable of the Good Samaritan and resulting claims are strikingly similar to patristic exegesis.³² Alongside patristic exegesis, Luther and Calvin asserted the radical dependence of humanity on God, and Luther interpreted the wounded traveler as sinful humanity and the Good Samaritan as Jesus Christ. Similarly to Origen's exhaustive interpretation, Luther identified humanity's need for Jesus Christ, claiming,

But Christ, the true Samaritan, takes the poor man to himself as his own, goes to him and does not require the helpless one to come to him; for here is no merit, but pure grace and mercy; and he binds up his wounds, cares for him and pours in oil and wine, this is the whole Gospel from beginning to end...Behold, here cling firmly to this Samaritan, to Christ the Savior, he will help you, and nothing else in heaven or on earth will.³³

Luther recognized the Good Samaritan's journey to the wounded traveler as the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ, and the aid and rescue he provided as the ongoing work of the Gospel. Luther and Calvin, alongside patristic exegesis, contended that a universal definition of the neighbor could only arise from understanding God as a neighbor to humanity. Interpreting Jesus Christ as the Samaritan, they all viewed Jesus Christ "as the strange neighbor whose self-expending love upsets their customary way of managing the world."³⁴ As William May, describes, Jesus is "the ultimate stranger, the one who upsets my safeties, who threatens my daily pieties and rewrites my agenda," and reveals a way of life foreign to the other characters of the

³² Calvin disparaged allegory asserting, "None of these strikes me as plausible: we should have more reverence for Scripture than to allow ourselves to transfigure its sense so freely. Anyone may see that these speculations have been cooked up by meddlers, quite divorced from the mind of Christ," in Calvin, *A Harmony of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark and Luke*, 39. Richard Lischer recognizes that Luther here "rejoins the tradition of allegory, which he had earlier criticized..." in Richard Lischer, *Reading the Parables*, Interpretation; Resources for the Use of Scripture in the Church (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2014), 157.

³³ Martin Luther, "A Sermon on the Gospel in a Parable," in *Sermons of Martin Luther*, ed. John Nicholas Lenker (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1988), Par. 32: 30.

³⁴ William F. May, *Testing the National Covenant: Fears and Appetites in American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2011), 130.

parable, and even the audience that receives the parable.³⁵ Luther emphasized the saving grace of God revealed in Jesus Christ and the necessity of the church's preaching of God's grace to fallen humanity. Luther affirmed Augustine's interpretation that the Good Samaritan's application of wine and oil upon the wounds of the abandoned traveler was a necessary and continuous act of healing.³⁶ Luther derived an understanding of neighbors arising from dependence upon God, explaining,

For that is His definition of the word 'friend,' as we also gather from Luke 10:36-27, where He speaks of the man who had fallen among thieves and informs us that he who showed him mercy was his neighbor. It is our custom to reverse this order and call him 'friend' who bestows good on others. But here Christ is speaking about the manner in which we come to be called friends in the sight of God, namely, by being recipients of His benefits. For we gave Him nothing previously, nor did we merit His friendship.³⁷

Luther interpreted the Good Samaritan as demonstrating the love and grace of God extended to humanity, and this universal dependence upon God led John Calvin to articulate a universal definition of neighbors. Calvin claims,

Therefore the Lord declares all men to be neighbors, that the affinity itself may bring them closer together. For anyone to be a neighbour, then, it is enough that he be a man; it is not in our power to deny the common ties of

³⁵ May, *Testing the National Covenant*, 130.

³⁶ This point is repeatedly made by Martin Luther and can be found in the following works: Martin Luther, *Lectures on Genesis, Chapter 42*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, Walter A. Hansen (assoc. ed.), vol. 7, Luther's Works; *Lectures on Genesis, Chapters 38-44* (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), 282. Martin Luther, *Lectures on Genesis, Chapters 45*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, Walter A. Hansen (assoc. ed.), vol. 8, Luther's Works; *Lectures on Genesis, Chapters 45-50* (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), 54. Martin Luther, *Lectures on Romans*, ed. Hilton C. Oswald, vol. 25, Luther's Works. Vol. 25, *Lectures on Romans : Glosses and Scholia* (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1972), 507. Martin Luther, *Catholic Epistles*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, Walter A. Hansen, vol. 30, Luther's Works; *The Catholic Epistles* (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1967), 68-69, 118. Martin Luther, *Defense and Explanation of All the Articles*, ed. George W. Forell, trans. Charles M. Jacobs, George W. Forell, vol. 32, Luther's Works; *Career of the Reformer II* (Philadelphia, PA: Muhlenberg Press, 1957), 24. Luther, *Against Latomus (1521)*, 32, 232. Martin Luther, *Against Hanswurst (1541)*, ed. Eric W. Gritsch, trans. Eric W. Gritsch, vol. 41, Luther's Works; *Church and Ministry* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1966), 218. Martin Luther, *Lectures on Galatians (1519)*, ed. Jaroslav; Walter A. Hansen (assoc. ed.) Pelikan, vol. 27, Luther's Works; *Lectures on Galatians* (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), 363.

³⁷ Martin Luther, "Sermon on John 15:15," in *Sermons on the Gospel of St. John; Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1961), 256.

nature...It turns out that our neighbour is the man most foreign to us, for God has bound all men together for mutual aid.³⁸

Calvin's universal understanding of neighbors included "the whole human race, without exception," of whom all "are to be embraced with one feeling of charity: that here there is no distinction of Greek or Barbarian, worthy or unworthy, friend or foe, since all are to be viewed not in themselves, but in God."³⁹ Luther and Calvin developed a universal definition of the neighbor that was dependent upon the theological understanding of humanity being universally dependent upon God. While maintaining this universal definition of the neighbor, I turn to patristic and medieval exegesis and their practical considerations for addressing the ethical implications of adhering to such an understanding of the neighbor.

5. The Pragmatic Considerations of Patristic and Medieval Exegesis

While patristic exegesis and Luther and Calvin recognized the same universal need among humanity for the salvific love of God, and subsequently, adhered to a universal definition of the neighbor, Augustine, the Venerable Bede, and Thomas Aquinas also provided a more pragmatic and circumscribed explanation of how one *acts* as a neighbor. Referencing the parable of the Good Samaritan, Augustine defined the neighbor as "the person to whom an act of compassion is due to us in our turn is also our neighbour," and asserted that "the word 'neighbour' implies a relationship: one can only be a neighbour to a neighbour."⁴⁰ In contrast to *hesed*, as demonstrated in the book of Ruth, which is done with no expectation of reciprocity, Augustine understood neighbors as those living with others in a reciprocal relationship. Augustine's definition of the neighbor thereby entailed a notion of geographical proximity that resembled a series of "expanding concentric circles" moving from those to whom we are closest such as family and friends outwards to those who are less familiar to us.⁴¹ Augustine asserted "first, that a man

³⁸ Calvin, *A Harmony of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark and Luke*, 38.

³⁹ Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 265.

⁴⁰ Augustine, *On Christian Teaching*, ed. R. P. H. Green, World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 23.

⁴¹ Eric Gregory, "'Agape' and Special Relations in a Global Economy: Theological Sources," in *Global Neighbors: Christian Faith and Moral Obligation in Today's Economy*, ed. Douglas A. Hicks and Mark R. Valeri (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing

should harm no one, and, second, that he should do good to all, so far as he can. In the first place, therefore, he must care for his own household; for the order of nature and of human society itself gives him readier access to them, and greater opportunity for caring for them.”⁴² Augustine expounded this point, asserting, “Our love, like a fire, must first take hold of what is nearest, and so spread to what is further off...Extend it to such as you do not know, who yet have done no harm to you; and go no further than them, and reach to the love of enemies.”⁴³ While care is exercised among those closest to us, those who are in our presence, such care gradually extends outward, and can include the world.

While a cosmopolitan hope for universal neighbors exists as a potential reality, communitarian concerns for the pragmatic ability to employ such definitions persist, and as Eric Gregory points out, “How these universal and particular obligations are to be organized in the complex sets of relations that characterize global interdependence remains a live issue for Augustinians.”⁴⁴ While God’s love and resources are infinite, humanity’s love and resources are not.⁴⁵ The finite resources of humanity justify pragmatic considerations in the extension of hospitality, and even aid and rescue, according to Augustine. Eric Gregory identifies how Augustine exercises “caution against allowing excessive compassion to interfere with prudence and judgment” and how “identification with another’s suffering has limits.”⁴⁶ To support this claim, Gregory alludes to Augustine’s statement, “a man bends over and extends his hand to someone lying down, for he does not cast himself down so that they are both lying, but he only bends down to raise up the one lying

Co., 2008), 36. As cited by Gregory, such a formulation is developed by Augustine in Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, Book 19.3: 918.

⁴² Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, XIX.14: 941.

⁴³ Augustine, "Eighth Homily; 1 John 4:12-16," in *Augustine: Later Works*, ed. John Burnaby, The Library of Christian Classics (Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1955), 320. This quote is cited by Eric Gregory in Gregory, "'Agape' and Special Relations in a Global Economy: Theological Sources," 35.

⁴⁴ Eric Gregory, *Politics and the Order of Love: An Augustinian Ethic of Democratic Citizenship* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 295.

⁴⁵ Gregory, "'Agape' and Special Relations in a Global Economy: Theological Sources," 22. In recognition of the finitude of humanity, Nigel Biggar asserts that humans cannot “secure the maximal good of all human beings,” in Nigel Biggar, "The Value of Limited Loyalty; Christianity, the Nation, and Territorial Boundaries," in *Boundaries and Justice: Diverse Ethical Perspectives*, ed. David Miller and Sohail H. Hashmi (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 44.

⁴⁶ Gregory, "'Agape' and Special Relations in a Global Economy: Theological Sources," 34.

down.”⁴⁷ While Gregory is correct in citing the pragmatic advisements that Augustine incorporated into the ethical demands of care, this does not negate Augustine’s understanding of sacrifice being necessary to some extent in the extension of aid. Instead, Augustine called for judgment as to the type and timing of sacrifice. Augustine asserted, “we would not bear one another’s burdens if the two parties who bear their burdens did so at the same time or had the same kind of weakness. However, different times and different sorts of weakness enable us to bear one another’s burdens.”⁴⁸ Augustine continues, “Therefore it is the very law of Christ that we bear one another’s burdens. Moreover, by loving Christ we easily bear the weakness of another, even him whom we do not yet love for the sake of his own good qualities, for we realize that the one whom we love is someone for whom the Lord has died.”⁴⁹ Gregory rightly states, “Morality must be morality appropriate to creatures like us, not angels,” which means that at times difficult decisions will be made as to the timing and extent of aid.⁵⁰

Medieval theologians, such as the Venerable Bede and Thomas Aquinas, continued the allegorical interpretations of patristic exegesis but focused on the pragmatic concerns of extending Christian charity to the neighbor.⁵¹ Recognizing neighbors as the recipients of God’s and humanity’s love, the Venerable Bede and Thomas Aquinas developed more particularized understandings of the neighbor that integrated Augustinian concerns about the practicality of extending aid and rescue. The Venerable Bede adhered to the same allegorical interpretations of patristic exegesis, but added that “every man becomes a neighbour to whomsoever he shows mercy, and at the same time this very parable describes in a special way the Son of God Himself, Who deigned by means of His humanity to become neighbour to us,”

⁴⁷ Augustine, *Eighty-Three Different Questions*, ed. David L. Mosher, The Fathers of the Church, A New Translation (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1982), 181.

⁴⁸ Augustine, *Eighty-Three Different Questions*, 184.

⁴⁹ Augustine, *Eighty-Three Different Questions*, 184.

⁵⁰ Gregory, "'Agape' and Special Relations in a Global Economy: Theological Sources," 22. Milbank affirms a similar sentiment but connects it to loving those closest to us stating, “We are not, and should not aspire to be, angels, equally close to all,” in John Milbank, *Being Reconciled: Ontology and Pardon* (London: Routledge, 2003), 39.

⁵¹ Thomas Aquinas’s *Catena Aurea* is a compilation of patristic exegesis on the Gospels. See, Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea: Commentary on the Four Gospels Collected out of the Works of the Fathers*, ed. John Henry Newman, vol. III: St. Luke (Southampton: Saint Austin Press, 1997), 366-377.

and continues to assert that “we must not so base our idea of the *neighbour* we are bidden to love as ourselves upon Christ, that we may determine the moral precepts of mutual fraternity by the rules of allegory.”⁵² Bede affirmed the inability of the law to save and humanity’s dependence upon the grace of Jesus Christ articulated by the Apostle Paul, but also recognized humanity’s inability to be a neighbor to one another in the same way as Christ is to us. While Christians are instructed to *go and do likewise*, they inevitably fall short owing to human nature, and pragmatic ethical considerations must be taken into account.

Thomas Aquinas developed a theology of Christian charity that is enacted among those closest to us, and asserted, “We ought to love others because they are *near* us, both as to their natural image of God and to their capacity for glory.”⁵³ Aquinas’s reference to loving those who are “*near* us” is unrelated to sentiments of moral proximity that arise from notions of belonging to an “imagined community,” or having in common morally arbitrary traits such as inherited citizenship.⁵⁴ Instead, Aquinas emphasized that we are to love those who are “*near* us” because they have been created in the *imago Dei* and share in the common need for God that was emphasized by patristic exegesis. The notion of loving those who are “*near* us” is striking because it identifies how particular care for those within geographical proximity entails a universalism. Geographical proximity allowed the neighbor to be morally different from the one extending aid, yet acknowledged practical limitations in extending aid across the globe. Aquinas claimed,

A realistic view is evident in this doctrine. No man can be continuously and actually loving each and every individual, but Christians are commanded to have an actual love for all men in general and a habitual love for each man in particular, so that one is disposed and ready to actuate this love when the occasion presents itself. This is, indeed, the lesson of the parable of the Good Samaritan (*Luke* 10, 29-37).⁵⁵

⁵² The Venerable Bede, “Blessed are the Eyes that See,” in *The Sunday Sermons of the Great Fathers*, ed. M. F. Toal (Chicago, IL: Henry Regnery Company, 1963), 67.

⁵³ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, vol. 35: Consequences of Charity (2a2ae. 34-46) (Oxford: Blackfriars, 1972), Q. 44, Article 7: 157.

⁵⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised ed. (London: Verso, 2006).

⁵⁵ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, vol. 47: The Pastoral and Religious Lives (2a2ae. 183-9) (Oxford: Blackfriars, 1973), Q. 184, Art. 2, footnote c, 25.

Understanding neighbors as those within geographical proximity eradicates morally arbitrary biases based upon national consciousness and identity. Aid and rescue, and most basically, hospitality according to this conception of geographical proximity, is impartially extended to all in the community, which entails a sense of universalism that renders citizens and aliens alike as neighbors. Søren Kierkegaard elaborated upon this Thomist understanding of the neighbor, explaining,

The word is evidently derived from ‘nearest,’ so the neighbor is the one who is nearer you than all others, although not in the preferential sense; for to love the one who is preferentially nearer one than all the others, is self-love—‘Do not even the heathen the same?’ The neighbor, then, is nearer to you than all others.⁵⁶

Kierkegaard described a universal love for neighbors that is real in potential, but more limited in actuality, describing how the neighbor “is itself a multitude, for ‘neighbor’ implies ‘all men,’ and yet in another sense one man is enough to enable you to obey the commandment.”⁵⁷ Geographical proximity entails the indiscriminate and universal extension of hospitality to others regardless of morally arbitrary traits, such as national citizenship. Further, regardless of their documentation status within a nation-state, if they are geographically proximate, they are accordingly extended aid and rescue.

6. Contemporary Ethical Considerations of Place

Karl Barth affirmed the theological definition of neighbors presented by patristic exegesis, but also cited the importance of particularity. Barth articulated a universal understanding of neighbors, asserting that “Since God Himself became man, man is the measure of all things,” and that “even the most wretched man—not man’s egoism, but man’s humanity—must be resolutely defended against the autocracy of every mere ‘cause’. Man has not to serve causes; causes have to serve man.”⁵⁸ Building on this Kantian understanding of the inviolability of individuals, Barth asserted that, regardless of whether someone is a friend or enemy, citizen or

⁵⁶ Søren Kierkegaard, *Works of Love*, trans. David F. Swenson and Lillian Marvin Swenson (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1946), 18.

⁵⁷ Kierkegaard, *Works of Love*, 18.

⁵⁸ Karl Barth, *Against the Stream: Shorter Post-war Writings, 1946-52* (London: SCM Press, 1954), 35.

alien, they must be extended the same rescue, aid, and hospitality.⁵⁹ Referencing the parable of the Good Samaritan, Barth defined the neighbor as “every man,” and echoes patristic and Reformation exegesis when quoting Kierkegaard: “A man is not thy neighbour because he differs from others, or because in his difference he in some way resembles thee. A neighbour is that man who is like unto thee before God. And this likeness belongs to all men unconditionally.”⁶⁰ Once again, morally arbitrary traits are deemed irrelevant, as are Rousseau’s sentiments of national consciousness, and all that matters is “Fellowship which is encountered in the community: but this means an encountering of the OTHER in the full existentiality of his utter OTHERNESS.”⁶¹ While describing universal neighbors, Barth also maintained the importance of particularity by asserting that being a neighbor is “an event which takes place in the existence of a definite man definitely marked off from all other men,” and that a “neighbour is my fellow-man acting towards me as a benefactor.”⁶² In this way, Barth articulated and reaffirmed a universal love for humanity that is exercised among those within geographical proximity.

Barth provided an important caveat to the distinction between universal neighbors in potential and particular neighbors in actuality by refusing to identify who particular neighbors are and argued that “the restriction of Christian love to the circle of brothers known to me cannot be theoretical and definitive, but only practical and provisional.”⁶³ While some are already particular neighbors, Barth maintained that people might move from potential to actual neighbors at any time, explaining,

But in the light of this recollection it certainly requires modification in the following direction—that in respect of the question who encounters and is united with me in this context, and who is therefore my neighbour, I have to be prepared and continually ready to receive new light beyond what I now think I know, always making new discoveries, and thus finding it possible and necessary to love to-morrow where to-day it seems out of the question to

⁵⁹ Kant’s categorical imperative which asserts inviolability of individuals can be found in Kant, *Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals*, 229.

⁶⁰ Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans* (London: H. Milford for the Oxford University Press, 1933), 442.

⁶¹ Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 443.

⁶² Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, ed. G.W. Bromiley, T.F. Torrance, Study ed., vol. I.2, *The Doctrine of the Word of God* §16-18 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), [420]: 223.

⁶³ Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, ed. G.W. Bromiley, T.F. Torrance, Study ed., vol. IV.2, *The Doctrine of Reconciliation* §67-68 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), [808]: 196.

do so because I do not yet perceive the relationship in which the other stands to me.⁶⁴

While loving neighbors entails particularity, it is universal in that anyone can move into this realm of particularity at any time. Humanity must therefore be ready to love everyone, but *potential* love only becomes *actual* love when it is extended to an individual. Recalling communitarian critiques of cosmopolitanism, as well as Immanuel Kant and Martin Luther King Jr.'s acknowledgement of the shared surface of the earth, Barth asserted that humanity "does not float in empty space," and that "the surface of a sphere in the mathematical sense—a place on which every point is like every other and could be interchanged with it."⁶⁵ Barth's understanding of the neighbor integrates a cosmopolitan outlook with a communitarian practicality as it promotes the indiscriminate extension of hospitality to anyone encountered in a particular place.

Incorporating geographical proximity into understandings of the neighbor makes everyone a potential neighbor, including both friends and enemies. Being a neighbor inherently entails the responsibility of aid and rescue and this is extended to all within geographical proximity. Regarding moral proximity, Kierkegaard argued,

The Levite and the priest were in a closer sense the neighbors of the victim, but these refused to recognize that fact; the Samaritan, on the contrary, who through prejudice might have misunderstood, still rightly understood that he was the neighbor of the man who had fallen among thieves. To choose a beloved, to find a friend, those are indeed complicated tasks, but a neighbor is easy to know, easy to find, if we will only—recognize our duty.⁶⁶

Nicholas Wolterstorff agrees with Kierkegaard's emphasis on the importance of loving the neighbor out of duty, and not special attachment, and argues, "If no natural dynamics motivate you to care about your neighbor, then care about him out of duty. But it is not your duty to care about every neighbor out of duty."⁶⁷ Wolterstorff is not circumscribing the care extended to others, but is asserting that there are some who can be loved not out of duty, but out of love. For Wolterstorff,

⁶⁴ Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV.2, The Doctrine of Reconciliation §67-68, [808]: 196.

⁶⁵ Karl Barth, ed. *Church Dogmatics*, Study ed., vol. III.4, The Doctrine of Creation §52-54 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), [288]: 278. This first quote is cited by Eric Gregory in Gregory, "'Agape' and Special Relations in a Global Economy: Theological Sources," 39.

⁶⁶ Kierkegaard, *Works of Love*, 19.

⁶⁷ Nicholas Wolterstorff, *Justice in Love*, Emory University Studies in Law and Religion (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2011), 116.

the difference between the lawyer's understanding of the neighbor and Jesus's, is the difference between someone "*being a neighbor of someone*" and someone "*being a neighbor to someone*."⁶⁸ In the first sense we are merely geographically or morally proximate, but no ethical implications exist to that person, whereas in the second sense we act as a neighbor by extending care and hospitality. Reaffirming the duty of "*being a neighbor to someone*," as well as citing the insignificance of morally arbitrary traits, Wolterstorff emphasizes the otherness of the Samaritan to the audience receiving the parable in its biblical context as well as to the wounded traveler on the Jericho Road, asserting, "I take Jesus to be enjoining us to be alert to the obligations placed upon us by the needs of whomever we happen on, and to pay no attention to the fact, if it be a fact, that the needy person belongs to a group that is a disdained or disdaining out-group with respect to oneself."⁶⁹ Again, geographical proximity is universal in scope because it extends care to all before us.

The parable of the Good Samaritan cannot be used to support "an abstract moral schematization" because the Good Samaritan exercised love toward the individual he encountered along the road.⁷⁰ Oliver O'Donovan affirms the importance of geographical proximity in his emphasis upon the "contingency" of the Good Samaritan's encounter with the wounded traveler on the Jericho Road. Diverging from the purposeful journey of the Good Samaritan articulated by patristic exegesis, O'Donovan's reading stresses the accidental nature of the encounter on the Jericho Road. O'Donovan explains that "there is a nearness of contingency, a chancing upon, a nearness of pure place, unqualified by any relation or connection but simply a matter of finding yourself next to somebody; and it is that which the parable holds up to us as the context for the neighbor's claim."⁷¹ While an emphasis upon the "contingency" of the Good Samaritan's encounter with the wounded traveler diverges from the purposefulness and divine necessity articulated in patristic exegesis, O'Donovan does not deny the necessity of the Samaritan's aid, but seeks to

⁶⁸ Wolterstorff, *Justice in Love*, 132.

⁶⁹ Wolterstorff, *Justice in Love*, 132.

⁷⁰ Oliver O'Donovan, *Resurrection and Moral Order: An Outline for Evangelical Ethics*, 2nd ed. (Leicester: Apollos, 1994), 240.

⁷¹ Oliver O'Donovan, "A Loss of a Sense of Place," in *Bonds of Imperfection: Christian Politics, Past and Present* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2004), 316.

elucidate how individuals like us can extend neighborliness and aid.⁷² Geographical proximity results in a universal potentiality for anyone to be our neighbor, but this universality is only realized in the particular.

7. Aid and Rescue With Limited Resources: Mercy in the World

The Good Samaritan had the provisions necessary to ensure that he could provide the aid, rescue, and care urgently needed by the wounded traveler on the side of the road as well as money to pay for his indefinite stay at the inn. But how do individuals and nation-states respond when urgent needs exceed the resources available for a sufficient response? Frequent responses to issues of migration assert that closed borders are necessary for effectively providing public services and safety, as well as to preserve the qualities that make migrating to a particular destination worthwhile.⁷³ While patristic exegesis interpreted the wine, oil, and bandages used to provide urgent first aid to the wounded traveler, as Christ binding the wounds of humanity, individuals and nation-states may not be as well prepared to respond. Michael Walzer utilizes the parable of the Good Samaritan to defend the principle of mutual aid developed by John Rawls, asserting,

It is the absence of any cooperative arrangements that sets the context for mutual aid: two strangers meet at sea or in the desert or, as in the Good Samaritan story, by the side of the road. What precisely they owe another is by no means clear, but we commonly say of such cases that positive assistance is required if (1) it is needed or urgently needed by one of the parties; and (2) if the risks and costs of giving it are relatively low for the other party. Given these conditions, I ought to stop and help the injured stranger, wherever I meet him, whatever his membership or my own.⁷⁴

Walzer preserves the requirement of extending aid irrespective of ethnicity or nationality, but argues that aid should be extended only if particular conditions are met, such an urgent need amongst one of the parties and a calculation of risk and cost by the one providing aid. Walzer does not provide an exegetical analysis of the parable, and utilizes it only because of its notoriety, but the imposition of criteria in providing lifesaving aid runs counter to theological interpretations of the parable.

⁷² O'Donovan, *Resurrection and Moral Order*, 241.

⁷³ For an assertion of borders being essential for the provision of services see Walzer, *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*, 64-74.

⁷⁴ Walzer, *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*, 33.

Communitarian considerations about the challenges of distributing resources within a community and the necessity of borders and making decisions about who can cross those borders at first glance resembles the pragmatic concerns already identified within Augustine. Augustine's pragmatic cautions against allowing sympathy to override good sense provided a certain measure of realism and practical wisdom, but nevertheless, Augustine's interpretation of the parable of the Good Samaritan overwhelmingly favored love and action towards others.

If we examine the parable in the light of mutual aid, the wounded traveler left half dead clearly met the first criterion of being in urgent need, but nowhere in the parable does the Good Samaritan perform an assessment regarding the risks and costs of extending aid. Jeremy Waldron is skeptical of communitarian critiques such as Walzer's, and suggests,

that there is something sly about the communitarian's denigration of moral universalism as an 'abstract' response. For surely it is the person who attends to the calibration of community, the person who makes the delicate calculations of moral distance, who would strike us in these cases as the one substituting abstraction for morality.⁷⁵

According to what we know of Jesus's parable from scripture, the Good Samaritan did not undertake any moral calculations, but administered the aid necessary to the person in need. If anything, the Good Samaritan put his own life at risk in stopping to administer aid. The road between Jerusalem and Jericho was dangerous enough for a traveler to be stripped, beaten, and left half dead (Lk. 10:30). If it happened to one traveler, there is no guarantee that it would not happen again, and it is possible that it could have happened to the one extending aid. Alternatively, what if the wounded traveler was acting and creating a trap?

Walzer's imposition of moral criteria challenges contemporary applications of the parable that articulate how humanity can act like the Good Samaritan. Allen Verhey describes a contemporary predicament, observing that "the Samaritan did not face the issue that health-care policymakers are forced to face today, the issue of scarcity," and that "the *limitless* compassion of the Samaritan makes his story seem

⁷⁵ Waldron, "Who Is My Neighbor?: Humanity and Proximity," 342.

more odd than exemplary; unlimited care seems not a real option.”⁷⁶ For Verhey, the Good Samaritan is “a tragic figure, forced to make unwelcome choices” regarding the distribution of finite aid. Despite the realities of finite resources, Verhey argues that humanity can still be like the Good Samaritan, but individual aid and rescue extended to individuals should take the form of public policy.⁷⁷ While “a contemporary Good Samaritan should be attentive to policy,” there are times when policies fail, and in these instances the example of the Good Samaritan as an individual who extended to another individual are significant.⁷⁸ The Good Samaritan was *moved with pity* for the wounded traveler and demonstrated a mercy that was directly counter to the movement of the priest and Levite who *passed by on the other side* (Lk. 10:31-32). While policy is an effective and necessary avenue for progress, there are times when policy either comes up short, fails altogether, or is ignored. In these moments, the Good Samaritan provides a powerful example against the priest and the Levite who may represent such institutions.

8. The Inn as the Church: The 1980s Sanctuary Movement

The 1980s Sanctuary Movement in the American Southwest demonstrates the political nature of the Good Samaritan's actions. The Sanctuary Movement responded to the dramatic increase of refugees entering the U.S. as Civil War in El Salvador drove thousands of refugees northwards through Mexico and into the U.S. for refuge. The influx of refugees seeking asylum in the United States challenged the newly implemented Refugee Act of 1980, which was the first change to U.S. refugee law since 1952, and redefined refugees according to the United Nations' definition of refugees and made it illegal to return asylum seekers to the places where they might face political persecution.⁷⁹ Title I (b) of the Refugee Act of 1980 reads,

The objectives of this Act are to provide a permanent and systematic procedure for the admission to this country of refugees of special humanitarian concern to the United States, and to provide comprehensive and

⁷⁶ Allen Verhey, *Remembering Jesus: Christian community, Scripture, and the moral life* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2002), 481.

⁷⁷ Verhey, *Remembering Jesus*, 482.

⁷⁸ Verhey, *Remembering Jesus*, 482.

⁷⁹ Edward M. Kennedy, "Refugee Act of 1980," *International Migration Review* 15, no. 1/2, Refugees Today (Spring - Summer 1981): 142.

uniform provisions for the effective resettlement and absorption of those refugees who are admitted.⁸⁰

U.S. immigration law previously limited the definition of refugees to those fleeing communism or originating in the Middle East.⁸¹ This new act changed refugee status so that it was now available to victims of violence and persecution who had reason to believe they would face similar persecution upon their return to any country of origin, and established criteria that *could* eliminate ad hoc decisions regarding refugee and asylum status while also raising the number of refugees to be admitted to 50,000 people with additional inclusions for those of “special humanitarian concern.”⁸²

Despite these changes within U.S. Refugee Law, dramatic increases in the number of refugees seeking asylum in the United States almost immediately challenged these new laws. Robin Cohen writes that “in 1979, there were 3000 applications for asylum in the USA. By 1981, the number was 40,000 and by 1983 it exceeded 140,000.”⁸³ While these steep increases resulted from the Civil War in El Salvador, relatively few of those fleeing El Salvador and Guatemala were granted asylum status. Alarming, “in 1984, only 3 of 761 Guatemalan applicants (less than 0.5 per cent) and only 328 of 13,373 Salvadorians (less than 2.5 per cent) were granted asylum – compared with over 50 per cent approval rates for Bulgarians and Russians.”⁸⁴ Without discounting the validity of asylum for those of the former Soviet bloc, the small number of successful asylum applications from Central America raised serious concerns about the implementation of refugee law. Ignatius Bau described such a concern, asserting, “While a union activist in Poland may be discharged or even imprisoned, union activists in El Salvador and Guatemala are ‘disappeared’ or murdered outright. Surely more than 3 percent or 1 percent,

⁸⁰ As referenced in Kennedy, “Refugee Act of 1980,” 143.

⁸¹ Kennedy, “Refugee Act of 1980,” 143.

⁸² Kennedy, “Refugee Act of 1980,” 143. The word *could* is italicized because almost immediately after its inception, President Jimmy Carter did not invoke clauses of the Refugee Act of 1980 for Cubans entering the United States. President Carter *could* have invoked an emergency clause of this legislation, but instead declared it a national emergency which allowed the entrance of Cubans outside this bill. Their entrance could have been allowed under this bill.

⁸³ Robin Cohen, *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 227.

⁸⁴ Cohen, *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, 227.

respectively, of such asylum applicants should also receive protection as refugees.”⁸⁵ Rather than recognizing them as refugees in need of asylum, the U.S. government identified these refugees as economic migrants, thereby making their entrance and presence in the U.S. illegal. Hilary Cunningham points to the political motivations behind such a decision, asserting,

Admitting that the thousands of Central Americans seeking safe haven in the United States were legitimate refugees ran counter to the political and economic support the government espoused for regimes that were brutally oppressing their own populations. Predictably, the Reagan-Bush response to Central American fugitives was to deny that they were refugees fleeing violence in their homelands. Instead, they were deemed ‘economic’ rather ‘political’ fugitives.⁸⁶

The failure to employ refugee law resulted in the rejection of thousands of asylum seekers at the U.S. border, and those who crossed the border without documentation faced a precarious existence, as they were unable to receive basic protections from the state.

Inspired by biblical concerns regulating care for the alien, Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson, Arizona declared their church a sanctuary, thereby taking part in an ancient historical practice arising from a biblical tradition.⁸⁷ Scripture commanded the creation of sanctuary cities in Exodus 21:12-14, Numbers 35:6-34, and Deuteronomy 4:41-43, 19:1-13, which would provide shelter and refuge *so that a slayer who kills a person without intent may flee there* (Num. 35:11). As opposed to merely harboring a criminal, *The cities shall be for you a refuge from the avenger, so that the slayer may not die until there is a trial before the congregation* (Num. 35:12). Sanctuary cities offered refuge to those accused or guilty of murder by proclaiming the sacredness of the church and clergy, and in so doing, ensured that there would be trial. Jonathan Burnside identifies the first cases of asylum as the flight of Moses from Egypt to Midian after killing an Egyptian who was striking a

⁸⁵ Ignatius Bau, "The Legal Parameters of Sanctuary: Harboring and Alien Smuggling," *In Defense of the Alien* 9 (1986): 171.

⁸⁶ Hilary Cunningham, *God and Caesar at the Rio Grande: Sanctuary and the Politics of Religion* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), xvi.

⁸⁷ William C. Ryan, "The Historical Case for the Right of Sanctuary," *Journal of Church and State* 29 (1987): 211.

Hebrew (Ex. 2:12-15), and the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt (Ex. 14).⁸⁸

Athanasius identified other instances of asylum seeking in

Jacob fleeing from Esau, and Moses withdrawing into Midian for fear of Pharaoh...David...fleeing from his house on account of Saul...hiding himself in a cave, and for changing his appearance, until he withdrew from Abimelech...Elias hiding from fear of Ahab and fleeing the threats of Jezebel... [and] the disciples also withdrew and hid themselves for fear of the Jews; and Paul, when he sought after by the governor of Damascus, was let down from the wall in a basket, and so escaped his hands.⁸⁹

Jesus Christ sought asylum, not just as an infant being brought into Egypt by Mary and Joseph (Mt. 2:13-18), but according to Athanasius, by “being made man for our sakes, condescended to hide Himself when He was sought after, as we do: and also when He was persecuted, to flee and avoid the designs of His enemies.”⁹⁰ Athanasius referenced these instances of asylum seeking to defend his own asylum seeking against those who accused him of fleeing owing to a fear of martyrdom.⁹¹ Interestingly, the early church fathers who fled religious persecution would be eligible for refugee status afforded by contemporary international standards and law.⁹² Additionally, an account of asylum provided by the early church fathers included Gregory of Nazianzus relaying the account of St. Basil who protected “a widow who fled to the altar against the violence offered by the Governor of Pontus; and the like is reported by Paulinus of St. Ambrose.”⁹³

The Reformation presented critical challenges to the ancient practice of Sanctuary by dismissing the “exclusive hold on holiness” among the church and clergy during the medieval period.⁹⁴ The holiness of the church and clergy during this period placed them outside the power of the state, and the practice of sanctuary

⁸⁸ Jonathan Burnside, "Exodus and Asylum: Uncovering the Relationship between Biblical Law and Narrative," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 34.3 (2010): 244.

⁸⁹ Athanasius, "Vindication of Flight," in *Historical Tracts of S. Athanasius* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1843), 195-196.

⁹⁰ Athanasius, "Vindication of Flight," 197.

⁹¹ Robert F. Gorman, "Persecution and Exile in the Patristic Period: Athanasian and Augustinian Perspectives," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 6, no. 1 (1993): 42.

⁹² Gorman, "Persecution and Exile in the Patristic Period: Athanasian and Augustinian Perspectives," 42.

⁹³ J. Charles Cox, *The Sanctuaries and Sanctuary Seekers of Mediaeval England* (London: George Allen & Sons, 1911), 3.

⁹⁴ Richard H. Feen, "Church Sanctuary: Historical Roots and Contemporary Practice," *In Defense of the Alien* 7 (1984): 134. This is reinforced by Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 48.

was a critical reassertion of their independence from the purview of the state's power. The division of the public and private realms during the Reformation, and the inverse collapse of the secular and sacred within the private realm, however, eradicated the holiness of religious sites that enabled sanctuary. The ecclesiastical right to provide sanctuary was transferred to the monarchy and in 1623 the English Parliament repealed all provisions of ecclesiastical sanctuary.⁹⁵ Philip Marfleet asserts that King Charles II of England may have provided the first state granted asylum in 1681, when he extended entrance to the Calvinist minority facing persecution in France, observing, "This may have been the first occasion on which authorities in a modern state formally extended protection to people associated with another state; according to some scholars, it marked the birth of the refugee as a category of persons later to be recognized in international law."⁹⁶

The 1980s Sanctuary Movement sought to reclaim biblical and historical practices of sanctuary by extending refuge to asylum seekers entering the U.S. Caring for aliens may be inspired by personal faith and deeply held convictions arising within individuals in the private sphere, but, as is demonstrated by the Sanctuary Movement, personal faith can exert political and public impact.⁹⁷ Within U.S. laws, aliens are legally classified as a people who are not nationals of the nation-state where they currently reside.⁹⁸ Nation-states regulate borders and legally determine distinctions between aliens and citizens, and define other categories of resident aliens, refugees, and asylum seekers, thereby making obedience to biblical commandments to care for aliens an inherently political act. The Sanctuary Movement did not seek to engage in intentional civil disobedience by breaking U.S. refugee law, but interpreted their actions as a "civil initiative" to ensure that U.S. refugee law was upheld.⁹⁹ Similarly to the way in which the Barmen Declaration recognized the failure of the Church to combat the rise of Nazism, Susan Bibler

⁹⁵ Philip Marfleet, "Understanding 'Sanctuary': Faith and Traditions of Asylum," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24, no. 4 (2011): 448.

⁹⁶ Marfleet, "Understanding 'Sanctuary': Faith and Traditions of Asylum," 440.

⁹⁷ Lane Van Ham, "Sanctuary Revisited: Central American Refugee Assistance in the History of Church-based Immigrant Advocacy," *Political Theology* 10.4 (2009): 624.

⁹⁸ Carmen Tiburcio, *The Human Rights of Aliens Under International and Comparative Law* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2001), 1.

⁹⁹ Marta Caminero-Santangelo, "Responding to the human costs of US immigration policy: No More Deaths and the New Sanctuary Movement," *Latino Studies* 7 (2009): 113.

Coutin identifies how Sanctuary demonstrated an understanding of the Nuremberg principles and “argued that citizens were both morally and legally obliged to enforce the law when their government failed to do so.”¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, in 1986, a U.S. federal court found eight members of the Sanctuary Movement guilty of criminal acts. Lane Van Ham explains,

Among the leading edge of church-based immigrant advocates, a moral imagination limited to nationalism cannot fulfill the demands of Christian faith, for the lines of citizenship, too deeply drawn, become incisions on the incarnation of God in plenary humanity. Without calling for the overthrow of the nation-state, they ardently assert the primacy of allegiance of a collective that surpasses modern political geographies, whether a ‘transnational religio’ or ‘God’s community.’¹⁰¹

As an instance of “civil initiative,” Sanctuary followed the example of the Good Samaritan and did what the priest and Levite failed to do, and extended rescue, aid, and hospitality to aliens. Theologians within patristic and medieval exegesis, as well Martin Luther, interpreted the inn to which the Good Samaritan brought the wounded traveler as the Church. Augustine identifies the beast of burden upon which the wounded traveler was placed as the body of Christ himself, the oil and wine poured over the traveler’s wounds as the sacrament of baptism, and the stay at the inn as the ongoing cure provided by the Church.¹⁰² Recognizing the inn as the Church, the Church provided refuge from the world, and ordered itself differently from the nation-states in which they were located. Being ordered by a different a *telos* than the nation-state, the Church not only reenacted the actions of the Good Samaritan, but Shiphrah, Puah, and Pharaoh’s daughter.

9. Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined the parable of the Good Samaritan as an instance of life saving aid and rescue being administered between people who are strangers.

¹⁰⁰ Susan Bibler Coutin, "Smugglers or Samaritans in Tucson, Arizona: Producing and Contesting Legal Truth," *American Ethnologist* 22, no. 3 (Aug. 1995): 553.

¹⁰¹ Van Ham, "Sanctuary Revisited: Central American Refugee Assistance in the History of Church-based Immigrant Advocacy," 642.

¹⁰² Augustine on the body of Christ as the beast of burden in Augustine, "Sermon LXIX in Sermons on Selected Lessons of the New Testament," in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Philip Schaff (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994).

The Good Samaritan is the least expected person in the parable to provide aid, and yet he is the one whose actions are exemplary. In this twist, the hearers and readers of the parable are challenged to recognize the stranger as being capable of providing necessary help, and their conceptions of who is a neighbor and worthy of giving and receiving aid are challenged. While nation-states determine who is a geographically proximate neighbor, the Good Samaritan parable and its interpretations express the extension of rescue, aid, and ongoing care to neighbors regardless of their nationality and other morally arbitrary differences. Recalling attempts at “attrition through enforcement” and the possible co-opting of churches’ mission efforts by requiring them to check documentation of those they seek to serve, both of which were addressed in the opening pages of this thesis, the Good Samaritan parable depicts universal and indiscriminate care that is unconcerned with the documentation status of those in need of aid. The Good Samaritan was a neighbor to the wounded traveler that he encountered on the road by extending not only life-saving rescue, but ongoing care and hospitality that would allow the traveler time to recover and make life on his own. Following the Good Samaritan’s example and Jesus’s message of being a neighbor to those we encounter, regardless of difference, the normative moral claims arising in this chapter are that contemporary Christians should provide universal and indiscriminate rescue and aid regardless of national citizenship and morally arbitrary differences. I contend that the Church is called to extend aid and rescue to neighbors based upon the love received from Jesus Christ, and that these actions result in the counter-cultural witness of the Church in the world.

The parable expresses the extension of aid between Samaritan and Jewish strangers, and reinforced that followers of Christ were called to extend aid based upon our shared humanity. Patristic, medieval, and reformed exegetes promoted a universal definition of neighbors based upon an allegorical interpretation of Christ being the Good Samaritan and the wounded traveler as humanity. Based upon this universal need, these exegetes developed a universal understanding of the neighbor, through which I contend that rescue and aid should be extended to all based upon their humanity. Alongside universal understandings of the neighbor, theologians also voiced pragmatic concerns, such as the limited ability of finite humans to enact the infinite love of God in their actions towards others. Accounting for these realities,

Augustine, the Venerable Bede, and Aquinas, alongside more recent theologians, such as Barth, provide more pragmatic explanations of how one can *act* as a neighbor by reframing the universal and indiscriminate extension of aid among humanity by emphasizing geographical proximity. Extending rescue and aid to neighbors within geographical proximity entails indiscriminate love that ignores morally arbitrary differences and is based solely upon one being a neighbor. While maintaining patristic exegesis's universal definition of neighbors, Barth emphasized the particular encounter between individuals in geographical proximity by arguing that humanity must be ready to potentially love everyone, but that *potential* love only became *actual* when extended to an individual person.

A challenge for churches extending rescue, aid, and ongoing care to people who are geographically proximate is that migration law, and subsequently, the ability to grant or deny refugee status or legal entry, is determined by the nation-state. In extending rescue, aid, and ongoing care to neighbors who are migrants, Christians are thereby challenged to balance biblical commands to care for aliens, political membership in the communities and nation-states where they reside, and the needs of their neighbors. While acknowledging and being mindful of the challenges nation-states, local communities, and churches face in utilizing limited resources to care for the needs of migrants, I contend that churches should seek to model the aid provided by the Good Samaritan and encourage nation-states to do the same. The normative moral claims arising within this chapter are not only that aid and rescue should be extended to migrants, but that such claims shape the identity of contemporary Christians and the Church as a witness for God's kingdom in the midst of the nation-state. By following the Good Samaritan's example, the Church provides an alternative witness amid the nation-state, and not only recalls the Good Samaritan, but the Hebrew midwives, Shiphrah and Puah, and Pharaoh's daughter. The Church is governed by a different *telos* than the nation-state, and as this *telos* shapes the care of strangers, the Church demonstrates a counter-cultural witness within the world by caring for migrants. In addition to the normative moral claims that contemporary Christians and churches should extend indiscriminate rescue, aid, and ongoing care to those within geographical proximity, I argue that such normative moral claims are owed to increasingly more people around the world. Resulting from the falsity of

explanatory nationalism and the interconnected nature of the world, definitions of neighbors must be enlarged to include more people around the world and cannot be circumscribed by national boundaries. Migrants are not *ex nihilo* creations, and the sphere of moral concern cannot be circumscribed within national borders because political and economic arrangements, as well as climate change, reveal how nation-states exert impact across borders. I argue that just as negative impact is exerted across borders, so should rescue, aid, and ongoing care.

In addition to receiving migrants into the places where Christians live and worship, the Church must go out to extend aid to migrants. The allegorical interpretations of patristic exegesis interpreted the Good Samaritan as Christ leaving home to journey to wounded humanity. Christians are currently extending aid to migrants by serving in refugee camps, supporting organizations that provide aid to migrants in their journeys and settlements in new places, and working for the inclusion and rights of migrants in the places where they settle. In these ways, contemporary Christians follow the journey of the Good Samaritan and seek to extend aid to those they encounter. For churches in receiving nation-states that do not come into regular contact with migrants, the outward journey of the Good Samaritan is illustrative of the normative moral claim that contemporary Christians can bring the healing grace of God into the world. Short or long term mission trips to places of need, and the funding of missionaries, aid workers, organizations and churches that work with migrants is an important contribution that enables even those churches that may be far from migrants to extend aid. Having examined the Good Samaritan parable as an exemplary instance of life-saving aid between strangers, and shaping the normative moral claims for contemporary Christians to likewise extend aid, rescue, and hospitality in and outside churches, I now turn to the parable of the Prodigal Son to examine the cost and sacrifice entailed in being practitioners of *hesed* and extending aid and rescue to refugees and migrants.

Chapter 7: The Prodigal Son Parable: Sacrifice and Redemption

1. Introduction

This thesis has examined biblical commands to care for the alien alongside additional justifications such as the interconnected nature of the world and the hybridity of cultures, while also addressing practical challenges for nation-states and communities that integrate and provide aid and rescue to migrants. This chapter now addresses distinct models of welcome and the sacrifice entailed in exercising love and hospitality to aliens and the redemption of communities that extend love to migrants by using the parable of the Prodigal Son. The parable of the Prodigal Son recounts the experience of a son who migrated to a distant country, squandered his inheritance, and when famine struck, *hired himself out to one of the citizens of that country* (Lk. 15:11-16). When the son *came to himself*, he returned to his father's home where he was lovingly embraced by the father but rejected by his older brother (Lk. 15:17-32). By way of allegorical exegesis, I argue that this parable reveals the sacrifice entailed in extending welcome to newcomers and helps strengthen the case for understanding the world in an integrated relationship. The allegorical interpretations that I engage in this chapter extend the parable's applicability from its familial setting to the wider community, nation, and world, especially when read in light of the treatment of aliens commanded throughout the Hebrew Bible. Additionally, I argue that the parable demonstrates how sociopolitical wanderers and aliens extend love to legal wanderers and aliens, and that the sacrifice necessary for embracing others ultimately entails redemption for all.

Engaging the parable of the Prodigal Son in a theological ethics of migration entails the challenge of acknowledging the parable's familial nature and that the parable addresses circular migration away from and towards home again: if the parable is stripped of these historical characteristics, the welcome enacted by the father and the rejection shown by the older son would be a mirror image of possible reactions to migrants at the borders of nation-states or at their inclusion in communities. But such a limited reading of the parable is not true to the text, and so it must acknowledge that receiving a family member is different from embracing an alien. Despite this acknowledgement, the allegorical interpretations I engage in this

chapter demonstrate that the parable can be effectively extended to develop tropological and anagogical insights that are applicable to individuals, families, and the nation in ways that reinforce and emphasize the original message and purpose of the parable. Additionally, I argue that the familial nature of the parable reveals the pragmatic realities of sacrifice that are involved in extending welcome and amplifies concerns about the distribution of finite resources among nations. This familial sacrifice, undertaken willingly by the father but begrudgingly by the son, challenges the logic of the closed national sovereignties described by the social contract theorists arising before and during the Enlightenment and John Rawls.¹ Whereas the social contract theorists addressed in Chapter 1 cited reciprocally shared sacrifices amongst those living within a contracted community for mutual advantage, the father and elder son performed a unilateral sacrifice when they received the younger brother from the distant country that mirrors the unreciprocated love of *hesed* demonstrated in the book of Ruth and the aid and rescue of the Good Samaritan.

2. Caution Against “Attrition Through Enforcement”

Before using the parable of the Prodigal Son as a source for developing an argument for the hospitable welcome of foreign migrants, I must address a possible critique arising from the ways the parable might be used to justify the refusal of welcome, rescue or aid. After the younger son had migrated from home to a distant country, he was in dire need, and *no one gave him anything*, so he decided to return home (Lk. 15:15-17). The harsh experiences of the younger son in the foreign land and his subsequent decision to return home mirrors the logic of contemporary receiving nations that seek to limit benefits distributed to migrants to curb undocumented migration. Self-deportation, or “attrition through enforcement,” is a strategy that seeks to disrupt the lives of migrants to such an extent that they voluntarily decide to return to their countries of origin, which in a very real sense is what occurred in the parable of the Prodigal Son.² For example, had the younger son

¹ Chapter 1 engages these social contract theories and describes the role of closed borders in their theories.

² Meghan Conley, "In Times of Uncertainty: The Great Recession, Immigration Enforcement, and Latino Immigrants in Alabama," in *Immigrant Vulnerability and Resilience; Comparative Perspectives on Latin American Immigrants During the Great Recession*, ed. María Aysa-Lastra, Lorenzo Cachón (New York, NY: Springer, 2015), 153.

not *squandered his property*, or had a *famine not have taken place throughout the country*, and *had* someone *given him anything*, it is not at all certain that he would have ever *come to himself* and returned home (Lk. 15:13-18). In 2011, Alabama enacted the “Beason-Hammon Alabama Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act” (HB56), which implemented state enforcement of immigration by barring undocumented peoples from entering into business contracts and required identification for children enrolling in school.³ Senator Scott Beason asserted that the law “was not designed to go out and arrest tremendous numbers of people,” but that as a result of the law, “Most folks in the state illegally will self-deport and move to states that are supportive of large numbers of illegals coming to the state.”⁴ State Representative Mickey Hammon also asserted that HB56 “attacks every aspect of an illegal alien’s life” because it “is designed to make it difficult for them to live here so they will deport themselves.”⁵ At the national level, the 2012 Republican Presidential nominee Mitt Romney affirmed “attrition through enforcement” by citing self-deportation as his solution to undocumented immigration into the United States.⁶

While proponents of “attrition through enforcement” may interpret the dire situation that the younger son encountered in the distant land as a biblical version of “attrition through enforcement,” I argue that this interpretation fails to account for the parable’s place within scripture and isolates it from the commands of caring for the alien found throughout the Hebrew Bible and the commands to care for the stranger, and even enemy, within the New Testament.⁷ While the spiritual sense of scripture allows for multiple interpretations, Henri de Lubac claimed that “it is true that all the ancient Scriptures ‘reveal the mystery of the Cross,’ but they in turn are revealed by it, and by it alone,” and that this “is the only key which can make us grasp their meaning.”⁸ If the parable sought to establish “attrition through enforcement,” then Egypt would be lauded instead of drowned in the Red Sea, and

³ Michele Waslin, “Discrediting ‘Self Deportation’ As Immigration Policy; Why an Attrition through Enforcement Strategy Makes Life Difficult for Everyone,” (Immigration Policy Center; American Immigration Council, Feb. 2012), 6.

⁴ Waslin, “Discrediting ‘Self Deportation’ As Immigration Policy,” 6.

⁵ Waslin, “Discrediting ‘Self Deportation’ As Immigration Policy,” 2.

⁶ Ediberto Román, *Those Damned Immigrants; America's Hysteria over Undocumented Immigration* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2013), 22.

⁷ New Testament instructions to love enemies: Lk. 6:27-35; Mt. 5:41-48; Rms. 12:14-21.

⁸ de Lubac, *Scripture in the Tradition*, 35.

the Israelites would *not* be instructed to love and justly treat the alien because of their memory of being aliens in Egypt. Israel received identity from “the memory of Pharaonic oppression, the Lord’s liberating act and its revelation of the character of the source of moral understanding, and the connection to the neighbor who is ‘like yourself’ in memory and in present reality.”⁹ The harsh treatment of the Israelites in Egypt is an experience of anti-welcome, and as a consequence biblical commands to love the alien are based upon the generational memory of Israel in Egypt.¹⁰ These commands regarding aid, hospitality, and justice are followed by the reminder, “Remember that you were a slave in Egypt and the Lord your God redeemed you from there; therefore I command you to do this” (Dt. 24:17; 22).

3. Hope for Return and Forgiveness: The Grace of God and the Church

Patristic exegesis of the parable of the Prodigal Son pastorally focused on the themes of hope, repentance, forgiveness, and embrace, and emphasized that realistic hope for the remission of sins is critical in inspiring transformative repentance and the acceptance of a readily available and undeserved grace. A clear theme of patristic exegesis of the parable of the Prodigal Son is allegorically interpreting sinful humanity as the younger son, and in particular, those who are outside the Church. Ambrose of Milan argued that all sins can be forgiven, and utilized the Prodigal Son parable to refute the Novation belief that while most sins can be forgiven, the worst of sins cannot.¹¹ Understanding hope as vital inspiration for repentance, Ambrose, typically of patristic exegesis, explained,

Deprive the pilot of the hope of reaching port, and he will wander uncertainly here and there on the waves. Take away the crown from the athlete, and he will fail and lie on the course. Take from the fisher the power of catching his booty, and he will cease to cast the nets. How, then, can he, who suffers

⁹ Patrick D. Miller, "The Good Neighborhood: Identity and Community through the Commandments," in *The Way of the Lord; Essays in Old Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2007), 72.

¹⁰ Patrick Miller states, “The story of the Hebrews in Egypt is really an anti-sojourn story, a depiction of inhospitality to strangers” in Miller, "Israel as Host to Strangers," 560.

¹¹ Against Novatian belief, Ambrose emphatically asserts, “Therefore most evidently are we bidden by the teaching of the Lord to confer again the grace of the heavenly sacrament on those guilty even of the greatest sins, if they with open confession bear the penance due to their sin,” in Ambrose, *Concerning Repentance, Book II*, ed. Philip Schaff, vol. X: St. Ambrose, Select Works and Letters, A select library of Nicene and post-Nicene fathers of the Christian Church (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1955), 347.

hunger in his soul, pray more earnestly to God, if he has no hope of the heavenly food?¹²

Patristic exegesis interpreted the experience of unconditional forgiveness and redemption extended from the father to the younger son as the forgiveness awaiting sinful humanity, and emphasized the necessity of hope for forgiveness for even the worst of sins. Without realistic hope for a hospitable welcome and forgiveness, patristic exegesis saw sinners as being less likely to repent and return to the Church. John Chrysostom emphasized that the forgiveness of God was not meant to inspire “a state of inertia, but to distance you from discouragement, because discouragement produces worse evils among us than inertia.”¹³ The younger son’s experience was meant to prevent “losing our hope to wickedness,” and to encourage others to return to God and the Church as the younger returned to his home.¹⁴ Tertullian asserted that repentant sinners could “be of good cheer,” declaring,

He, then, will receive you, His own son, back, even if you have squandered what you had received from Him, even if you return naked—just because you *have* returned; and will joy more over your return than over the sobriety of the other; but *only* if you heartily repent—if you compare your own hunger with the plenty of your Father’s ‘hired servants’—if you leave behind you the swine, that unclean herd—if you again seek your Father, offended though He be, saying, ‘I have sinned, nor am worthy any longer to be called Thine.’¹⁵

Recognizing the moment at which the younger son *came to himself* as repentance (Lk. 15:17), Tertullian asserted, “He, therefore, who ‘had perished’ is saved, because he entered on the way of repentance.”¹⁶ John Chrysostom makes clear that sinful humanity makes a return journey to the Church by interpreting the younger son as someone who “bears the image of those who suffer the fall after the Laver [baptism],” because “He is called ‘son’; [and] no one can be called a son without

¹² Ambrose, *Concerning Repentance, Book II*, X: St. Ambrose, Select Works and Letters, 347.

¹³ John Chrysostom, *On Repentance and Almsgiving*, ed. Thomas P Halton, trans. Gus George Christo, vol. Vol. 96, Fathers of the Church (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1998), 11.

¹⁴ Chrysostom, *On Repentance and Almsgiving*, Vol. 96, 14.

¹⁵ Tertullian, “On Repentance,” in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. A. Cleveland Coxe, James Donaldson, and Alexander Roberts (New York, NY: Cosimo, Inc., 2007), 663.

¹⁶ Tertullian, “Of Patience,” 715.

baptism. Furthermore, he inhabited the paternal house, and took his share from all the paternal substance.”¹⁷

Patristic exegesis did not expound the migration of the youngest son to a distant country in the literal sense, but allegorically interpreted the geographical distance existing between the youngest son and his father’s home as the spiritual distance existing between God and humanity. Ambrose described the younger son’s journey to the foreign country as his being “cut off from the sacred altar” and “separated from that Jerusalem which is in heaven, from the citizenship and home of the saints.”¹⁸ The younger son’s time in the distant country is different from the experiences of the Israelite patriarchs who lived as resident aliens in foreign lands but remained citizens of the kingdom of heaven (Heb. 11:13-16). Unlike Augustine’s conception of Christians being on an earthly pilgrimage, which entailed geographical distance but not spiritual distance, the younger son was both geographically and spiritually distant.¹⁹ Famine, a recurring theme in the instances of migration engaged in this thesis, is interpreted by patristic exegesis as indicative of the younger son’s spiritual distance from God.²⁰ In contrast to the instances of famine that contributed to the migrations of the Israelite patriarchs in the book of Genesis, this instance of famine more closely resembles that contained in the prophet Amos’s declaration on behalf of God, *The time is surely coming, says the Lord God, when I will send a famine on the land; not a famine of bread, or a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord* (Amos 8:11).²¹ Augustine expanded this interpretation, asserting,

Nor is it surprising that famine followed on this riotous living...This is to be understood as the prince of demons, the devil, on whom all prying, inquisitive people throw themselves; because unlawful curiosity represents a pestilential poverty of truth...We take the husks to be secular doctrines,

¹⁷ Chrysostom, *On Repentance and Almsgiving*, Vol. 96, 11.

¹⁸ Ambrose, *Concerning Repentance, Book II*, X: St. Ambrose, *Select Works and Letters*, 347.

¹⁹ Scripture that attests that God is present everywhere and geographical distance cannot separate people from God: Gen. 28:15; Ps. 23, 139:7-12; Jer. 23:23-24.

²⁰ Famine played a significant role in the migrations of the Israelite patriarchs, demonstrating yet another point of similarity between the Prodigal Son and the patriarchs. Famine in the Prodigal Son’s case, however, is a famine of the word of God, whereas it was physical famine that compelled the migrations of the patriarchs.

²¹ This is an understanding similar to allegorical interpretations of the book of Exodus when Egypt is interpreted to be void of the Word of God.

which crackle, but don't satisfy, fit food for pigs, not human beings; that is, for demons to take pleasure in, not for the faithful to be justified by.²²

Famine, according to Augustine, was spiritual distance from God, and the younger son's hiring himself to a citizen of the distant country and feeding the pigs resembles misplaced hope for salvation.

While patristic exegesis emphasized the role of hope for inspiring repentance, it was not hope, but dejection and desperation that inspired the younger son's repentance and return migration. Patristic exegesis, therefore, did not seek to make the younger son himself exemplary of redemption, but sought to revere his experience of receiving grace and forgiveness from his father, who is interpreted as God. Athanasius described the forgiveness and redemption of the younger son as "the work of the Father's loving-kindness and goodness," and argued "that not only should He make him alive from the dead, but that He should render His grace illustrious through the Spirit."²³ When the younger son decided to return to his father's home, *while he was still far off, his father saw him and was filled with compassion; he ran and put his arms around him and kissed him* (Lk. 15:20). As the younger son was warmly embraced, he "did not keep back his sins but revealed them," and says to his father, "Father, I have sinned against heaven and before you; I am no longer worthy to be called your son" (Lk. 15:21).²⁴ The most overt allegorical interpretations of the parable provided by patristic exegesis referenced the adornments that accompanied the father's reception of the younger son as representing that "the father does not receive him as a hired servant, neither does he look upon him as a stranger, but he kisses him as a son, he brings him back to life from the dead, and counts him worthy of the divine feast, and gives him his former

²² Augustine, "Sermon 112A, On the Two Sons from the Gospel," in *Sermons*, ed. John E. Rotelle, The Works of Saint Augustine; A Translation for the 21st Century (Brooklyn, NY: New City Press, 1992), 154-155.

²³ Athanasius, "Letter X. Easter, 338," in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Henry Wace, Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1892), 527.

²⁴ Ambrose, "The Prayer of Job and David," in *Saint Ambrose; Seven Exegetical Works*, ed. Bernard Peables, The Fathers of the Church; A New Translation (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of American Press, 1972), 332.

and precious robe.”²⁵ The robe, ring, sandals, and accompanying fatted calf and celebration, typify the reception of a son, and not a stranger, and the fatted calf is interpreted as the sacrifice of Jesus Christ which enables the redemption of humanity.²⁶

Similarly to the allegorical interpretations of the parable of the Good Samaritan engaged in the previous chapter, the parable of the Prodigal Son reveals the reliance of humanity on God for redemption and salvation. Without the Good Samaritan’s rescue and aid, the wounded traveler would have remained stranded half-dead on the roadside, and without the loving embrace of the father, the younger son would have remained in debt to his father’s household. Describing the necessity of grace, Augustine asserted,

Precisely because they were unable of themselves to come back, he himself called them back by his grace, summoning them and taking pity upon them; for how can a creature of flesh, a spirit that can wander off but not return, borne by the weight of its guilt towards the lowest and farthest places, find its way back, unless through God’s gracious election? And this is not given like a reward duly earned; it is granted gratis and unmerited, to the end that an ungodly person may be justified and a lost sheep come home. Nor is this achieved by its own efforts. The sheep is carried home on the shepherd’s shoulders.²⁷

The father’s loving embrace upon the younger son’s return is representative of the love God displays even to those who have turned from faith and the Church.

²⁵ Athanasius, "Letter X. Easter, 338," 526.

²⁶ Augustine provides a thorough allegorical interpretation, explaining, "So the father gives instructions for him to be presented with the first robe, which Adam had lost by sinning. Now that he has kissed his son and received him back in peace he gives instructions for him to be presented with the robe, which is the hope of immortality in baptism. He orders him to be given a ring, as a pledge of the Holy Spirit, and shoes for his feet, in readiness for the gospel of peace, so that the feet of one announcing good news might be beautiful," in Augustine, "Sermon 112A, On the Two Sons from the Gospel," 157. Ambrose states, "...his father meets him, gives him a kiss, which is the sign of sacred peace; orders the robe to be brought forth, which is the marriage garment, which if any one have not, he is shut out from the marriage feast; places the ring on his hand, which is the pledge of faith and the seal of the Holy Spirit; orders the shoes to be brought out for he who is about to celebrate the Lord’s Passover, about to feast on the Lamb, ought to have his feet protected against all attacks of spiritual wild beasts and the bite of the serpent; bids the calf to be slain, for ‘Christ our Passover hath been sacrificed,’" in Ambrose, *Concerning Repentance, Book II*, X: St. Ambrose, *Select Works and Letters*, 347. See also Athanasius, "Letter X. Easter, 338," 526.

²⁷ Augustine, "Exposition of Psalm 77," in *Expositions of the Psalms 73-98*, ed. John E. Rotelle, *The Works of Saint Augustine; A Translation for the 21st Century* (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2000), 111.

Foreshadowing concerns of the Reformation, patristic exegesis emphasized the freely given love of God that expects nothing in return. Using the parable of the Prodigal Son, Tertullian proclaimed that “even if you have squandered what you had received from Him, even if you return naked,” God forgives.²⁸ Augustine argued “that this psalm [Psalm 70] commends to us the grace of God by which salvation has come to us gratis. No antecedent merits on our part earned us salvation, for all that was owing to us was punishment.”²⁹ In this way, God extends a forgiveness that recalls the acts of *hesed* that characterized the book of Ruth. Whereas it is possible for humanity to be in a reciprocal relationship with those they live alongside, humanity cannot be in a reciprocal relationship with God. Like the parable of the lost sheep that precedes the parable of the Prodigal Son, Augustine envisioned God as the one who comes to humanity, owing to the inability of humanity to come to God, declaring,

He remembers that they are mere flesh, a roving spirit that does not readily return. Precisely because they were unable of themselves to come back, he himself called them back by his grace, summoning them and taking pity upon them; for how can a creature of flesh, a spirit that can wander off but not return, borne by the weight of its guilt towards the lowest and farthest places, find its way back, unless through God’s gracious election? And this is not given like a reward duly earned; it is granted gratis and unmerited, to the end that an ungodly person may be justified and a lost sheep come home. Nor is this achieved by its own efforts. The sheep is carried home on the shepherd’s shoulders. It had the power to ruin itself by wandering where its fancy took it, but it had no power to find itself; and it certainly would not be found if the shepherd did not in his mercy search for it. The son who came to himself and said, I will rise up and return to my father (Lk 15:18) was no different from the sheep. He too was sought and brought back to life by hidden calling and inspiration, and only by the One who gives life to all things. By whom was that young man found, if not by him who went forth to save and seek out the lost? *For he was dead, but came back to life; he had perished, but was found* (Lk 15:24).³⁰

Augustine recognized humanity as being unable to “find their way back unaided,” and that humans are dependent upon the grace of God.³¹ The pastoral concerns for

²⁸ Tertullian, "On Repentance," 663.

²⁹ Augustine, "Exposition 2 of Psalm 70," in *Expositions of the Psalms 51 - 72*, ed. John E. Rotelle (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2000), 436.

³⁰ Augustine, "Exposition of Psalm 77," 111.

³¹ Augustine, "Exposition of Psalm 77," 111.

hope and forgiveness articulated within patristic exegesis express the reliance of humanity upon God, which Karl Barth will frame as “the way of the Son into the far country.”³² Recognizing that humanity is universally dependent upon God, and that the Church is dependent upon the same love and grace of God, they are in turn called to extend that love and grace to others, and welcome others into the Church.

4. The Inclusion of the Gentiles Alongside the Jews: The Two Brothers

In addition to the allegorical interpretations emphasizing hope and forgiveness, Augustine, and much more recently, N.T. Wright also interpret the parable to represent the inclusion of the Gentiles among the Jews, thereby recalling the allegorical interpretations of the book of Ruth explored in Chapter 5. Augustine allegorically asserted, “The man who has two sons is God who has two peoples; the elder son is the people of the Jews, the younger the people of the Gentiles.”³³ He argued that it is through the father’s freely given love to both sons that Jews and Gentiles are brought into the Church. Cyril of Alexandria, however, disputed this interpretation, claiming that “if any one say, that Israel according to the flesh is meant by the virtuous and sober son, we are again prevented from assenting to this opinion by the fact, that in no way whatsoever is it fitting to say of Israel that he chose a blameless life,” because “for throughout the whole of the inspired Scripture, so to say, we may see them accused of being rebels and disobedient.”³⁴ Despite Cyril’s claims, the elder son protests against his father’s decision to extend forgiveness to the younger son (Lk. 15: 28-30), thereby indicating that he is not as obedient as Cyril interprets him to be. Wright supports Augustine’s allegorical interpretations of the two sons as representing the Jews and Gentiles, and interprets the parable of the Prodigal Son as “the story of Israel, in particular of exile and restoration.”³⁵

³² Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV.1, The Doctrine of Reconciliation §57-59, [157]: 150.

³³ Augustine, "Sermon 112A, On the Two Sons from the Gospel," 154.

³⁴ Cyril, *A Commentary upon the Gospel According to S. Luke*, trans. R. Payne Smith, vol. Part II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1859), 502. Cyril also refutes another interpretation stating, “If then we refer the upright son to the person of the holy angels, we do not find him speaking such words as become them, nor sharing their feelings towards Cyril, *A Commentary upon the Gospel According to S. Luke*, Part II, 502.

³⁵ N.T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, vol. 2 (London: SPCK, 1996), 126.

Wright interprets the parable of the Prodigal Son as representing the Babylonian Captivity, and describes the younger son as those Israelites who were carried off into exile and the elder son as representing those Israelites who remained in Judah. Wright claims that the “those who grumble at what is happening are cast in the role of the Jews who did not go into exile, and who opposed the returning people. They are, in effect, virtually Samaritans,” and goes on to assert that “the true Israel is coming to its senses, and returning to its father, as Jeremiah had foretold; and those who oppose this great movement of divine love and grace are defining themselves as outside the true family.”³⁶ According to Wright, a new “exodus itself is the ultimate backdrop,” and the homecoming of the younger son and the reconciliation with the older son are to be interpreted as exile and restoration.³⁷ Wright undertakes a twofold allegorical interpretation that interprets Israel as being led “into exile because of her own folly and disobedience, and is now returning simply because of the fantastically generous, indeed prodigal, love of her god,” while also overlaying the parable with the ultimate exodus and redemption enacted in Jesus Christ for humanity, asserting, “The real return from exile, including the real resurrection from the dead, is taking place, in an extremely paradoxical fashion, in Jesus’ own ministry.”³⁸ Whereas patristic exegesis understood the parable of the Prodigal Son to be about the inclusion of the Gentiles among the Jews, Wright interprets the parable as being about the return and subsequent inclusion among the Israelites of those who were taken into exile. Applying the language of the fourfold sense of scripture to Wright’s interpretation, allegory leads to an anagogical interpretation of history, from which the Church can cultivate sources for learning how to respond to those who return to the Church, as well as newcomers.

5. “The Way of the Son Into the Far Country”: Barth’s Use of Allegory

Karl Barth framed the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ as “the way of the Son into the far country” and the salvation of humanity as “the homecoming of the Son of Man” in the resurrection, thereby using the parable of the Prodigal Son to

³⁶ Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 2, 127.

³⁷ Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 2, 126.

³⁸ Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 2, 127.

describe the salvation of humanity.³⁹ Barth acknowledged that “we all engage in allegorical exegesis, that is, we impose a second meaning on what is there – a meaning which is not there but which we have to impose on it in order to understand it,” but he also cautioned against being overly reliant on allegory.⁴⁰ Responding to Ambrose’s use of allegory, Barth explained,

There can be no simple equation of Jesus Christ with the lost son of the parable—and even less, of course, with the flesh of the fatted calf which was killed for his reception, as Ambrose once suggested. But again we do not do justice to the story if we do not see and say that in the going out and coming in of the lost son in his relationship with the father we have a most illuminating parallel to the Way trodden by Jesus Christ in the work of atonement, to His humiliation and exaltation. Or better, the going out and coming in of the lost son and therefore the fall and blessing of man, takes place on the horizon of the humiliation and exaltation of Jesus Christ and therefore of the atonement made in Him. It has in this its higher law.⁴¹

Though “only a sorry caricature of the going out of the one Son of God into the world as it took place in Jesus Christ,” the parable of the Prodigal Son provided Barth with a framework for understanding the sacrifice and redemption that humanity depended upon for salvation.⁴² Through the parable, Barth emphasized the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ and conceptualized God as living amongst

³⁹ Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV.1, The Doctrine of Reconciliation §57-59, [157]: 150. William Stacey Johnson states, “It would be stretching the exegesis, Barth acknowledged, to draw a simple equation between the character of Jesus, who is righteous, and the prodigal, who is unrighteous. Nevertheless, the career of Jesus follows a similar movement of leave-taking and returning. Who other than Jesus, after all, can claim as the parable says of the prodigal to have been ‘once dead’ but ‘now alive’” in William Stacy Johnson, *The Mystery of God: Karl Barth and the Postmodern Foundations of Theology*, 1st ed. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 104. Similarly, Kathryn Greene-McCreight asks, “So does Barth’s exegesis involve this kind of allegory? The word *typology* might be more appropriate, insofar as it follows Barth’s use of *typus* or *type*. However, can one in fact assume an airtight distinction between allegory and typology? For Barth, the Old Testament contains or is built on a rich set of complex typological or figural correspondences, fully funded according to the text’s immediate exegetical context. Even so, Barth suggests that the Old Testament points to the void without the Word of faith in Christ,” in Kathryn Greene-McCreight, “‘A Type of the One to Come’: Leviticus 14 and 16 in Barth’s Church Dogmatics,” in *Thy Word Is Truth; Barth on Scripture*, ed. George Hunsinger (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2012), 84.

⁴⁰ Karl Barth, *The Göttingen Dogmatics: Instruction in the Christian Religion*, ed. Hannelotte Reiffen, vol. I (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1991), 259.

⁴¹ Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV.2, The Doctrine of Reconciliation §64, [023]: 21.

⁴² Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV.2, The Doctrine of Reconciliation §64, [023]: 21.

humanity in a distant country, where, as patristic exegesis asserted, humanity was spiritually distant from God.

Integrating the parables of the Good Samaritan and Prodigal Son, Barth described Jesus as entering “into the evil society of this being which is not God and against God,” and recognized that “He does not pass him by as did the priest and the Levite.”⁴³ Instead, when Christ entered the world, he tended to the needs of humanity according to the allegorical interpretations of the Good Samaritan. Barth affirmed the necessity of God’s grace for humanity’s salvation, and through his use of the parable of the Prodigal Son, he emphasized the journey to and from the “far country” that took place in Jesus Christ. For Barth, “The atonement as it took place in Jesus Christ is the one inclusive event of this going out of the Son of God and coming in of the Son of Man.”⁴⁴ The circular journey of the Prodigal Son from his father’s home to the “far country” and back is significant, as it points to the journey of Christ to earth and back to achieve redemption and salvation for humanity, which as Barth asserted,

And yet it cannot be denied that the way of the latter is in fact the way into the far country of a lost human existence—the way in which He accepts identity and solidarity with this lost son, unreservedly taking his place, taking to Himself his sin and shame, his transgression, as though He Himself had committed it, making his misery His own as though He Himself had deserved it, and all this in such a way that the frightfulness of this far country, the evil of the human situation, is revealed in its full depths only as it becomes His situation, that of the holy and righteous Son of God.⁴⁵

Barth affirmed the Chalcedonian definition of Christ as fully God and fully human, and “the ‘state of humiliation’ of the incarnate one and that of the priestly office of Christ in which he effects reconciliation between God and sinners.”⁴⁶ Even as God *humbled himself and became obedient to the point of death—even death on a cross* (Phil. 2:8), Christ is at “the same time accomplishing our salvation through *atonement*, through his *priestly* work.”⁴⁷ Utilizing the imagery of the parable of the Prodigal Son, Jesus Christ meets humanity in the far country and is present in the

⁴³ Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV.2, The Doctrine of Reconciliation §64, [023]: 21.

⁴⁴ Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV.2, The Doctrine of Reconciliation §64, [021]: 19.

⁴⁵ Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV.2, The Doctrine of Reconciliation §64, [023]: 21.

⁴⁶ John B. Webster, *Barth*, Second ed. (London: Continuum, 2004), 115.

⁴⁷ John Thompson, *The Holy Spirit in the Theology of Karl Barth* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 1991), 70.

father who runs from home to greet his son upon return. Despite his hesitations of fully subscribing to the allegorical interpretations of Ambrose, Barth recognized,

In the parable, then, Jesus is ‘the running out of the father to meet his son.’ Jesus is ‘hidden in the kiss which the father gives his son.’ Jesus is the power of the son’s recollection of his father and home, and his father’s fatherliness and readiness to forgive. This is the indirect exegesis. And it is not allegorical but legitimate if there is to be an exposition of the parable in the context of the whole of the Third Gospel, and the whole New Testament message.⁴⁸

In Jesus Christ, “God went into the far country by becoming man in His second person or mode of being as the Son—the far country not only of human creatureliness but also of human corruption and perdition.”⁴⁹ Barth recognized the dependence of humanity upon God, and in so doing, affirmed the universal dependence of humanity on God that was developed in the previous chapter.

Daniel Groody referenced Barth’s description of “the way of the Son into the far country” in order to emphasize the migration and “downward mobility” of God in Jesus Christ and articulate the foundations of his theology of migration.⁵⁰ According to Groody, Jesus Christ is the paradigmatic migrant “based on the truth that God in Jesus Christ so loved the world that he left his homeland and migrated into the far distant territory of humanity’s sinful and broken existence.”⁵¹ While Groody’s interpretation is in line with Barth, Barth took another step that I argue is critical to developing a theological ethics that promotes the extension of hospitality, aid and rescue to migrants. In addition to Barth’s interpretations of the Prodigal Son paralleling the journey of Jesus Christ, Barth also claims that the younger son “is certainly not in any direct sense the way of the Son of God who is obedient to the Father,” but “is the way of man in his breaking of the covenant with God—the way of lost Israel, of the lost ‘publicans and sinners,’ of the lost Gentile world.”⁵² “The way of the Son into the far country” not only represents the atonement and salvation of humanity, but is interpreted as a way of reclaiming the role of God and faith in a world that is spiritually distant from God. By also developing these aspects of

⁴⁸ Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV.2, The Doctrine of Reconciliation §64, [022]: 21.

⁴⁹ Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV.2, The Doctrine of Reconciliation §64, [021]: 19.

⁵⁰ Groody, "Crossing the Divide," 649.

⁵¹ Groody, "A Theology of Migration; A New Method For Understanding a God on the Move," 20.

⁵² Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV.2, The Doctrine of Reconciliation §64, [023]: 21.

Barth's interpretation of the Prodigal Son parable I seek to reclaim the role of God and faith in inspiring moral action in the world, and particularly, how it can shape the hospitality, inclusion, and aid and rescue extended to migrants.

As I addressed in the first chapter, Enlightenment philosophers envisioned an "individual moral agent, freed from hierarchy and teleology, [who] conceives of himself and is conceived of by moral philosophers as sovereign in his moral authority."⁵³ In this modern condition, Alasdair MacIntyre asserted that morality was denied "their older teleological character and their even more ancient categorical expressions of an ultimately divine law," and autonomous reasoning agents believed they were the ultimate bearers of truth.⁵⁴ Barth not only interpreted the parable of the Prodigal Son to describe the incarnation of Jesus Christ and achieving the spiritual redemption of humanity, but to also demonstrate the necessity for realizing how that redemption entails reclaiming the ultimate authority of God. Barth interpreted the migration of the younger son into the far country and his return home as the "turning away and turning back of man in his relationship to God, in which there is not only no diminution but a supreme heightening and deepening of the fatherly mind and attitude of God towards him."⁵⁵ Just as the Prodigal Son realized his inability to live independently in the distant country, Barth interpreted the inability of humanity to live apart from God and sought to reclaim the role of God in the world.

Reinhold Niebuhr similarly argued that "the whole story of modern culture might be truly chronicled in terms of the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke)."⁵⁶ The movement of society and culture to the "far country" is represented in modern attempts to construct society as autonomous from God. Describing modernity's misplaced allegiances, Niebuhr explained,

Whenever men trust their own righteousness, their own achievements, whenever they interpret the meaning of life in terms of the truth in their own culture, or find in their own capacities a sufficient steppingstone to the holy and the divine, they rest their life upon a frail reed which inevitably breaks and leaves their life meaningless.⁵⁷

⁵³ MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 62.

⁵⁴ MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 62.

⁵⁵ Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV.2, The Doctrine of Reconciliation §64, [021]: 20.

⁵⁶ Reinhold Niebuhr, "The Christian Church in a Secular Age," in *The Essential Reinhold Niebuhr; Selected Essays and Addresses*, ed. Robert McAfee Brown (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 82.

⁵⁷ Niebuhr, "The Christian Church in a Secular Age," 83.

As I examined in Chapter 1, the Enlightenment sought to displace God and scripture from the public realm in an effort to strengthen sovereign ruling powers. Having already explored the ways in which social contract theorists obscured the dynamic existence of humanity in an interconnected world, I now assert that the younger son can be interpreted as humanity who fails to acknowledge their dependence upon the earth, and ultimately God. Recalling the allegorical interpretations of the Good Samaritan that understood the aid and rescue provided by the Good Samaritan to be the salvation extended to a wounded and helpless humanity by Jesus Christ, the Prodigal Son's journey can be interpreted as humanity's failure to acknowledge their dependence on anything greater than themselves. As Niebuhr describes, "The 'mighty famine' when the son begins to be in want is still in the future, but our civilization is destined for such a catastrophe as so certain a consequence of the anarchy of its conflicting national passions and ambitions, that one may well speak of it as part of the contemporary picture."⁵⁸

Barth and Niebuhr identified what Charles Taylor labels "the anthropocentric shift," which is identified as the pursuit of humanity to make themselves the center of their universe.⁵⁹ In the parable of the Prodigal Son, the younger son became spiritually distant from his father as he attempted to live independently of him, and only realized his inability to exist independently when he was in the distant country without resources and famine struck. Barth and Niebuhr recognized the movement of humanity away from God and the necessity of reclaiming a place for God within the lives of humanity and society. With reference to the difficult experiences of the younger son in the distant country and his subsequent realization of his desire to return to his father's home, Niebuhr claimed that "perhaps that is why the truest interpretations of the Christian faith have come in moments of history when civilizations were crumbling and the processes of history and the judgments of God had humbled human arrogance."⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Niebuhr, "The Christian Church in a Secular Age," 82.

⁵⁹ Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 266.

⁶⁰ Niebuhr, "The Christian Church in a Secular Age," 83.

6. Redefining Justice: The Necessity of Self-Sacrifice

Duncan Forrester argues that charity has become “debased in modern usage,” and that “its true sense as love/justice needs to be recovered lest our account of charity is inherently patronising and assumes inequality, and our notion of justice becomes narrow and hard.”⁶¹ A basic and practical distinction between modern notions of charity and justice is that charity describes acts that address immediate needs, while justice seeks to alter the structures of systematic injustice.⁶² This makes charity a function of individuals and churches that does not threaten or impede the public realm, and is thoroughly in accord with Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s public religion. Justice, according to this understanding, however, inherently impacts the public realm by placing the administration of justice with governments and nations who claim the role of arbiters between individuals.⁶³ Another distinction is that charity is understood to entail a positive duty to extend aid that is optional, and thereby unenforceable, whereas justice is a negative duty that requires one to refrain from acting, thereby making it obligatory and enforceable. In this way, moderns contend that “justice is a matter of rights; charity is not.”⁶⁴ Immanuel Kant and John Stuart Mill both “shared the view that duties of justice are perfect, while duties of charity are imperfect,” and this is often the “reason for the thesis that duties of justice, but not duties of charity, may be enforced.”⁶⁵ According to Rawlsian liberals, who abide by this Enlightenment tradition, “works of charity, whether as almsgiving or personal service, are seen as intrinsically arbitrary, being free gifts to which the recipient has no specific or legal claim.”⁶⁶ Simone Weil, a twentieth-century mystic, points out that “Christ does not call his benefactors loving or charitable. He calls them just,” and argues that “we have invented the distinction between justice and

⁶¹ Duncan B. Forrester, *Christian Justice and Public Policy*, Cambridge Studies in Ideology and Religion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 221.

⁶² Timothy P. Jackson, *The Priority of Love; Christian Charity and Social Justice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 2, 11. Michael Novak, Paul Adams, Elizabeth Shaw, *Social Justice Isn't What You Think It Is* (New York, NY: Encounter Books, 2015), 261.

⁶³ For fuller engagement with Rousseau see Chapter 1.

⁶⁴ Allen Buchanan, “Justice and Charity,” *Ethics* 97, no. 3 (Apr. 1987): 558. Nicholas Wolterstorff identifies the belief that justice is understood to involve negative duties and expresses his objections to that understanding, in Nicholas Wolterstorff, *Justice; Rights and Wrongs* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 11.

⁶⁵ Buchanan, “Justice and Charity,” 569.

⁶⁶ Novak, *Social Justice Isn't What You Think It Is*, 261.

charity.”⁶⁷ I argue that modern notions of charity are inherently false, and that the interconnected nature of the world demonstrated in famine establishes that hospitality to migrants is an act of both charity and justice. This provides a foundation for arguing that the poverty and conditions that compel migration such as famine, which as Amartya Sen argues, is really a kind of poverty, must be addressed according to a postmodern understanding of both charity and justice.

The father forgave and lovingly embraced the younger son upon his return, but the eldest son retreated in protest. These differing reactions challenge and inform how communities receive people viewed as being outside communal efforts. While the early church fathers are correct in understanding the younger son as a part of the familial unit, or even representative of the baptized, the younger son detached himself from these positions and relationships when he became geographically and relationally distant in the foreign land. During the younger son’s absence from his father’s home, the eldest son continued to contribute to the good of the household, and the youngest son’s return elicited different perceptions of justice and fairness. As the father and his household celebrated the younger son’s return, the eldest son *became angry and refused to go in* (Lk. 15:28). When his father pleaded with him to celebrate, he responded, “Listen! For all these years I have been working like a slave for you, and I have never disobeyed your command; yet you have never given me even a young goat so that I might celebrate with my friends. But when this son of yours came back, who has devoured your property with prostitutes, you killed the fatted calf for him!” (Lk. 15:29-30). The eldest son’s complaint reflects a particular understanding of fairness and justice that in his view has been violated. The eldest son either believed he is entitled to more benefits within his father’s house, or perhaps that the younger son should serve some sort of penalty before being restored to a position of belonging and its accompanying benefits. Issues of community contributions, and their relation to justice and fairness are integral to existing migration debates.

Concern about the state’s ability to provide public services such as policing, education, or health care often reflects belief that because immigrants have not

⁶⁷ Simone Weil, *Waiting on God* (London: Collins, 1959), 96., cited in Maria Clara Bingemer, *Simone Weil: Mystic of Passion and Compassion*, trans. Karen M. Kraft (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2015), 52.

invested in these services from the beginning, they should not benefit from them. As observed earlier, John Rawls argued, “We are not to gain from the cooperative labors of others without doing our fair share. The two principles of justice define what is a fair share in the case of institutions belonging to the basic structure. So if these arrangements are just, each person receives a fair share when all (himself included) do their part.”⁶⁸ Rawls’s position reflects the creation of a community in the original position, which is a type of social contract among individuals. Rawls formulates his social contract theory as a domestic system closed to outsiders. Applying Rawls’s system of political justice to the Prodigal Son parable, the younger son’s return represents the arrival of an outsider, and the benefits he receives at the expense of the elder son represent injustice. Emil Brunner framed the problem of justice, explaining, “The real problem of justice, however, is always whether it is the equality or the inequality which matters, or whether, in spite of their actual inequality, men must be treated equally or unequally.”⁶⁹ If justice must mean equality, the father’s treatment of his two sons is unjust, but if it can mean inequality practiced in love, then the father represents an example of divine justice. The return of the younger son foregrounds different understandings of justice, and the outrage of the elder son reflects a Rawlsian sense of justice, while the sacrificial response of the father represents something else.

Thomas Aquinas affirmed the inability of humanity to save itself from the debt of sin, and the necessity of God’s grace for forgiveness. Aquinas asserted, “Man can in no way rise up again from sin by himself without the assistance of grace. For since sin, while it passes away as an act, remains as a debt, as was said above, to rise up from sin is not the same as to cases from the act of sinning.”⁷⁰ Having squandered his inheritance, the younger son’s return to his father’s home will now entail the accrual of debt, which Aquinas understood as humanity’s “spoiled nature” and reliance upon the grace of God to escape a debt that it cannot repay.⁷¹ Aquinas affirmed the early church fathers’ understanding of Jesus as a “physician,” claiming,

⁶⁸ Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, 96.

⁶⁹ Emil Brunner, *Justice and the Social Order* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1945), 33.

⁷⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, vol. 30; The Gospel of Grace (1a2ae. 106-114) (Oxford: Blackfriars, 1972), q.109, a.7: 93.

⁷¹ Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 30; The Gospel of Grace (1a2ae. 106-114), q.109, a.4: 83.

“there is required the habitual gift which is the light of grace,” and “so the assistance of grace is required for man to rise up again from sin, both as regards the habitual gift and as regards the inner motion of God.”⁷² Aquinas connects sin and the forgiveness of sins with justice, claiming, “Now it is clear that there is the greatest inequality between God and man; they are infinitely far from each other, and man’s whole good is from God. Thus there can be no justice between man and God in the sense of absolute equality, but only in the sense of a proportionate relationship, so far, that is to say, as each works in his own mode.”⁷³ The younger son could not forgive himself, because, as Aquinas explains, “Certainly it is for justice to render each his due, yet it presupposes the distinction of one individual from another. Giving oneself one’s due is not justice in the strict sense of the term. What belongs to the child is the father’s, what belongs to the slave is the master’s, and accordingly there is no strict justice between them.”⁷⁴ Aquinas’s writings on justice do not directly incorporate the Prodigal Son parable, but the parable provides an excellent example of the Christian justice Aquinas articulated.

Augustine allegorically framed the parable of the Prodigal Son through the inclusion of the Gentiles among the Jews, asserting,

And the elder brother is angry when he returns from the fields, and refuses to go in. He is the people of the Jews, whose spirit appeared even in those who had already come to believe in Christ. The Jews couldn’t stomach it that the Gentiles should come on such easy terms, without the imposition of any of the burdens of the law, without the pain of physical circumcision, that they should receive saving baptism in sin; they couldn’t stomach their feasting of the fatted calf.⁷⁵

As with the parable of the laborers in the vineyard (Mt. 20:1-16), the undeserved grace of God is extended across traditional understandings of justice as fairness.⁷⁶ Brunner described the difference between justice and love, stating, “The obligations of justice can be fulfilled because they are distinct, but love is never fulfilled; it is

⁷² Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 30; The Gospel of Grace (1a2ae. 106-114), q.109, a.7: 95.

⁷³ Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 30; The Gospel of Grace (1a2ae. 106-114), q.114, a.1: 203.

⁷⁴ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, vol. 37: Justice (2a2ae. 57-62) (London: Blackfriars, 1975), q.57, a.4: 17.

⁷⁵ Augustine, "Sermon 112A, On the Two Sons from the Gospel," 158.

⁷⁶ Irenaeus connected the parable of the Prodigal Son and the laborers in the vineyard by asserting that it is the same father who loves both the younger and the elder son, and it is the same landowner who calls laborers at the beginning and end of the day, in Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 429.

always in debt, for it is not to be perfected. The demand of justice can be satisfied, the demand of love never...Love can fulfil justice, but cannot itself be fulfilled. It is always at the beginning. Only the love which is without measure fulfils itself—the love of God.”⁷⁷ Through the love of Jesus Christ the debt of sins is forgiven and justice is fulfilled.

7. Sacrifice and Redemption: The Grace of Jesus Christ

Building on Augustine’s example of interpreting his life through the framework of the Prodigal Son, Henri Nouwen interprets the Prodigal Son parable through Rembrandt’s painting, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*.⁷⁸ Nouwen offers a personal interpretation of the parable and corresponding painting, progressively identifying himself with the younger son, elder son, and the father. Nouwen recalls, “It had brought me into touch with something within me that lies far beyond the ups and downs of a busy life, something that represents the ongoing yearning of the human spirit, the yearning of the human spirit, the yearning for a final return, an unambiguous sense of safety, a lasting home.”⁷⁹ Recognizing an eschatological yearning for ultimate home, Nouwen explores his earthly longing and search for home through an autobiographical account similar to Augustine’s. Augustine reflects, “As an adolescent I went astray from you (Ps. 118:76), my God, far from your unmoved stability. I became to myself a region of destitution.”⁸⁰ He goes on, “At that time where were you in relation to me? Far distant. Indeed I wandered away, separated from you, not even granted to share in the husks of the pigs, whom I was feeding with husks.”⁸¹ Augustine makes his connections between his life and the younger son gradually more emphatic, claiming, “but I travelled away from you into a far country to dissipate my substance on meretricious lusts (Luke 15:13).”⁸²

Nouwen and Augustine are in agreement with the rest of the early church fathers, as well as Barth and Niebuhr, by acknowledging the spiritual distance

⁷⁷ Brunner, *Justice and the Social Order*, 118.

⁷⁸ See Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Vernon J. Bourke, The Fathers of the Church; A New Translation (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1966).

⁷⁹ Henri J. M. Nouwen, *The Return of the Prodigal Son: A Story of Homecoming* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1994), 5.

⁸⁰ Augustine, *Confessions*, 34.

⁸¹ Augustine, *Confessions*, 42.

⁸² Augustine, *Confessions*, 70.

implied in departing for a foreign country. As Nouwen describes, “I am the prodigal son every time I search for unconditional love where it cannot be found.”⁸³ As I addressed in relation to Barth and Niebuhr, the younger son is not only representative of individuals, but society as well, and the younger son’s return is representative of understanding the necessary relationship between creation and the Creator. As Nouwen asserts,

The young man being embraced by the Father is no longer just one repentant sinner, but the whole of humanity returning to God. The broken body of the prodigal becomes the broken body of humanity, and the baby-like face of the returning child becomes the face of all suffering people longing to reenter the lost paradise. Thus Rembrandt’s painting becomes more than the mere portrayal of a moving parable. It becomes the summary of the history of our salvation.⁸⁴

God’s salvific love enacted and demonstrated in Jesus Christ redeems fallen humanity and brings it home to be at peace in the security of God. It is a love that does not wait at home for repentant sinners, but like the father of the parable, it ventures into the far country to redeem humanity.

The father’s self-sacrifice in receiving the younger son home achieves the redemption of his younger and older sons. The Epistle to the Ephesians declares,

In him we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses, according to the riches of his grace that he lavished on us. With all wisdom and insight he has made known to us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure that he set forth in Christ, as a plan for the fullness of time, to gather up all things in him, things in heaven and things on earth (Eph. 1:7-10).

In Christian theology, the sacrifice of Jesus Christ in the crucifixion and his subsequent resurrection achieved the redemption of humanity from the powers of sin and death. Redemption accompanies sacrifice as God’s love conquers sin and death, and humanity no longer dwells in the depths of sin. Allegorically speaking, the younger son is humanity which realizes the depths of its despair and sacrifices in the far country in order to return to a heavenly home where it is received with a love and grace that cannot be earned and is not deserved. In this way, the younger son undertakes an exodus similar to the allegorical interpretations of the Exodus event of

⁸³ Nouwen, *The Return of the Prodigal Son: A Story of Homecoming*, 5.

⁸⁴ Nouwen, *The Return of the Prodigal Son: A Story of Homecoming*, 43.

the early church fathers. The younger son not only embarks on a literal and geographic migration, but a spiritual migration back to the father.

The welcome of the alien entails sacrifice in the same way that the hospitable reception of the younger son entailed a sacrifice of the goods of his father's home. But there is also redemption, not only for the younger son, but for the elder son, as well. The elder son learns that it is not the letter of the law that warrants redemption, but the sacrificial love of God the Father who welcomes home the lost through a grace that is independent of the law. The allegorical interpretations of the early church fathers on the book of Ruth, the Good Samaritan Parable, and the Prodigal Son Parable each assert the inclusion of the Gentile Church among the Jews, thereby demonstrating the continuity of the theme of the Church built upon the inclusion of newcomers.

8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I engaged the parable of the Prodigal Son to describe how the Church's inclusion of migrants and enactment of *hesed* defies the logic of the social contract theories engaged in Chapter 1, and how the extension of aid, care and rescue to migrants, presents Christians and others with the opportunity to rediscover the meaning of justice and citizenship on an interconnected planet. Rather than subscribing to the notions of mutual advantage and shared sacrifice articulated in the social contract theories examined in Chapter 1, which render the arrival of migrants as threats to life within closed communities, the allegorical interpretations of the Prodigal Son parable that I have explored, reveal how communities are to extend the love of God to those they encounter. In addition to describing how communities should receive migrants, I have also interpreted the parable in ways that recall the earlier themes of this thesis such as the need to reclaim God and scripture in addressing the underlying problems of the migration crisis and beyond. Rather than abiding by an explanatory nationalism that discounts the interconnected nature of the world, I have read the parable to demonstrate a return to a conception of the world and moral behavior that is shaped by the love of God to humanity revealed in Jesus Christ.

Allegorical exegesis is beneficial for extending the parable's applicability from its familial setting to the wider community, nation, and world, especially when read in light of the treatment of aliens commanded throughout the Hebrew Bible. Whereas the concerns of nation-states depicted in Chapter 1's analysis of social contract theory frequently follow the pattern of the elder son by operating according to a concept of mutual advantage, I argue that the Church should base their reception of the migrant upon the loving embrace and self-sacrifice of the father. The normative moral claims arising from this chapter's engagement with the Prodigal Son parable are that churches should extend care to migrants and aid their integration with no regard for the mutual advantage asserted within social contract theories. The aid and hospitality that Christians and churches extend to migrants inevitably entails cost, and as the Prodigal Son parable demonstrates, even self-sacrifice in some way. Just as the Good Samaritan used the resources he had with him on his journey to administer life-saving aid, and also paid for an indefinite stay at the inn to ensure the ongoing healing of the wounded traveler, the father of the younger son gives his son the robe, ring, and sandals, and slaughters the fatted calf. I argue that the differing models of welcome demonstrated by the father and the elder son represent how the Church differs from nation-states in extending welcome to migrants. As a normative moral claim, I contend that churches must strive to follow the example of the father, and not nation-states that adhere to understandings of mutual advantage articulated in social contract theories. In Chapter 5, I asserted that contemporary Christians should work for the inclusion of migrants into receiving communities as a normative moral claim, and in this chapter, I address some of the costs entailed in this integration.

Following the example set by the father of the younger son, churches that aid and welcome migrants into their church family, inevitably incur cost of some kind. A few examples of practical aid that help to facilitate migrants into communities, include churches providing classroom space and volunteers to assist in learning a new language or for preparing for citizenship exams, helping secure or furnishing a new home, and providing training and mentoring for employment. In addition to the financial and social capital costs that are necessary to providing this aid, there might also be a more intimate cost resembling the familial nature of the father and older son receiving the younger son home again. The inclusion of migrants into the life of

churches and the dynamic integration of migrants that shapes and impacts the character of both migrants and the communities that receive them, will also impact the church. Increased secularization in the West and the rise of Christianity in the developing world, which is also the site of many of the migrant sending countries, is impacting churches in receiving nations.⁸⁵ Bringing to mind the circular journey of the Prodigal Son, and supportive of my argument against explanatory nationalism, Susanna Snyder asserts, “Christianities exported through the colonial missionary enterprise are, in effect, now coming back to confront their former promoters.”⁸⁶ In response to instances of migrants filling the pews of aging congregations, these churches must figure out how to respond to the changing demographics of their communities and congregations. Churches can either attempt to insulate themselves from shifting demographics within their community by continuing to minister strictly to the needs that are already present in their congregation, or they can look outward and try to minister to emerging needs in the community.

In some instances, the integration of migrants into churches will help reverse declining worship attendance and give aging congregations new life as they adapt to new worship styles and programs, while in other instances, already thriving churches may seek the meaningful relationships and integration of migrants that I described in Chapter 5’s examination of integration within the book of Ruth. The inclusion of migrants into the life of the church might lead to changes in worship and fellowship, which could include new liturgies, services in different languages, new music styles, and additional worship services to accommodate growing numbers or preferences for different ways to worship. Although some congregants may be fine to see traditions and practices change, others may be more resistant. While I present the Prodigal Son parable as having applicability broader than its familial setting, the familial setting of the parable highlights how difficult it can be to personally bear change. When a nation-state integrates migrants, the cost of integration is spread across a nation-state, but when integration is enacted in local communities and churches, the costs of that

⁸⁵ Moses Biney, “Ghanaian Presbyterians in America: Why Some Joins American Denominations and Others Don’t,” in *Church in an Age of Global Migration: A Moving Body*, ed. Susanna Snyder, Joshua Ralston, Agnes M. Brazal (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), 241-248.

⁸⁶ Susanna Snyder, “Faces of Migration: US Christianity in the Twenty-First Century,” 229.

integration are more tangible. In the father's reception of the younger son, both the father and elder son made a personal sacrifice of their physical goods, as well as the way of life they became accustomed to. Despite the difficulty of change, I argue that a normative moral claim arising within this thesis is that the church should strive for the dynamic integration of migrants that is open to the gradual transformation that occurs through meaningful encounters. Recalling the inclusion of strangers as demonstrated in Chapter 5's examination of the book of Ruth and the previous chapter's emphasis on the church as an inn, this chapter's engagement with the Prodigal Son parable addresses the cost and self-sacrifice that is sometimes accrued in including migrants into the fellowship and congregational life of churches.

Overarching these normative moral claims is the assertion that contemporary Christians need to reclaim a proper orientation that places God, and not humanity, at the center of their perspective. Through allegory, I contend that the Prodigal Son parable expresses the necessity of turning away from what Charles Taylor describes as the "anthropocentric shift," and the need to regain a proper orientation that places God at the center of our lives. Patristic exegesis allegorically interpreted the geographical distance between the younger son and his father as the spiritual distance between humanity and God. Augustine, and much more recently, Henri Nouwen, both interpret their own experiences of being distant from God through the experience of the younger son. Augustine interpreted the famine experienced by the younger son as spiritual distance from God and also understood the younger son's work of feeding the pigs as resembling misplaced hope for salvation. Rather than settling for the sovereign and nation-state as simulacra for God and faith, contemporary Christians must reclaim their unique orientations towards God as the source of their actions. This reorientation shapes moral action by guiding how we respond to the needs of others not through the logic of social contract theories that operate according to a notion of "mutual advantage," but according to *hesed*. Barth and Reinhold Niebuhr both lament what Taylor labels as the "anthropocentric shift," and asserted the necessity for humanity to regain a proper orientation that places God, and not simulacra for God at the center of their lives.

Part III

Conclusion

1. A Theological Ethics for Wanderers and Aliens

Against the backdrop of the international migrations occurring throughout the world, I have sought to develop a theological ethics that draws upon scripture and tradition to shape the Church's ethical and practical responses to current issues of migration. I suggest that this thesis has excavated valuable theological and ethical insights that might inform both public debate and the reception of refugees in nations that continue to have significant numbers of Christian adherents, as well as the Church's ethical and practical responses to migration today. The perilous plight of millions of refugees, asylum seekers, and economic migrants across borders, and their precarious existence in new places are urgent humanitarian issues. Alongside these concerns, however, are the challenges faced by nation-states in extending inclusion, aid, and rescue to those who migrate, while governing the citizens and others already within their borders. Throughout this thesis, I have argued that migration must not be engaged strictly as an issue for nation-states, but that it is integral to the identity of the Church. Rather than focusing solely on the political, economic, and social implications of migration, and pursuing these isolated avenues for solutions, I have presented a theological ethics that draws upon scripture and tradition to address underlying political, economic, and social concerns to shape the issue of the extension of hospitality, inclusion, and aid and rescue to migrants owing to the interconnected nature of the world.

The core claim I have advanced in this thesis is that migration is theologically significant for Christians because loving aliens is commanded throughout scripture and the theme of hospitality to migrants is central to the prophetic witness of the Church to the nations. In seeking to develop a theological ethics of migration that reclaims migration and care to aliens as being critical to the identity of Christians and the Church, the research questions that I have engaged in this thesis include: what would a theology of migration look like that draws upon scripture and tradition and is attentive to the current migration crisis, and how might such a theology shape

the Church's ethical and practical responses to migration? Using the fourfold sense of scripture, with particular attention to allegory, as reclaimed from patristic and medieval exegesis by Henri de Lubac, I investigated four biblical narratives that are paradigmatic of the biblical treatment of migrants. These narratives are significant sources because they provide insights into contemporary migration that include both the experiences of those who migrate and those who receive and provide aid or rescue. I claim that the exegesis of these biblical narratives reveals that aid, care and rescue of migrants, even to the point of self-sacrifice, present contemporary Christians and others with the opportunity to rediscover the meaning of justice and citizenship on an interconnected planet.

This thesis significantly adds to existing literature by Christian theologians and ethicists on migration by using allegory to interpret scripture and to develop a theological ethics of migration that reclaims and develops the identity of Christians as wanderers and aliens through their outreach to migrants. I identified and addressed a lacuna between the longstanding theological tradition of understanding Christians as being cosmological aliens and emerging theological reflections on migration that assert the necessity of care for sociopolitical aliens based upon biblical commands to care for aliens and the vulnerable. By connecting these longstanding and emerging strands of theology and ethics, I have filled a void that I argue not only shapes the responses of the Church to issues of migration, but the ways that such responses shape the prophetic witness of the Church in the world. Through engagement with scripture and allegorical interpretations I have argued that the extension of hospitality and care to sociopolitical aliens affirms the cosmological identity of Christians as wanderers and aliens, thereby making the Church a distinct witness to the nations.

More than reclaiming the biblical commands of the Hebrew Bible to care for aliens, however, my engagement with scripture and allegorical interpretations ranging from patristic exegesis to living theologians and ethicists highlights how scriptural narratives and their interpretations commend hospitality to strangers and aliens. By using allegory, I avoid fundamentalism and develop an ethics of hospitality that draws upon scripture and tradition to shape the inclusion, aid and rescue of migrants based not only upon biblical commands, but upon the inclusion of

the Gentiles among the Jews in the early Church and the universal need for salvation to be provided by God. The inclusion of the Gentiles among the Jews in the early Church demonstrates that the Church should not be afraid of outsiders or the self-sacrifice that is necessary for their inclusion, and that recognizing the universal need for God's grace expands our understanding of neighbors, and subsequently, who we are to extend neighborly love towards. In addition to developing a theological ethics that draws from scriptural interpretations, I have identified additional factors to inspire care for aliens within the surrounding context and environment of the biblical narratives examined in this thesis, such as the interconnected nature of the world, the hybridity of cultures, and the stretching of moral responsibility for the plight of others beyond national borders. Through this examination of scripture and tradition, I have demonstrated the relevancy of scripture to contemporary issues of migration and broadened the justifications of extending hospitality to migrants by including these insights alongside biblical commands to care for aliens based upon the identity of Christians. By acknowledging the interconnected nature of the world as revealed in scripture, I have not only sought to display the relevance of scripture to the world today, but have asserted that reclaiming scripture shapes the responses of the Church amidst the nation-state. The Church affirms and reveals its distinct character of being a community ordered by God in the extension of care to migrants.

Throughout the ongoing refugee crisis, Pope Francis has not only called upon the Church to extend hospitality to migrants, but he has embodied such demands in his papal visits to refugee centers and interactions with refugees. His first trip outside Rome was to the Italian island of Lampedusa, where he not only placed a wreath into the Mediterranean Sea in commemoration of those who died crossing from Africa, but celebrated mass and delivered a homily to draw attention to the plight of refugees who are searching for home elsewhere.¹ Concern for refugees and migrants has been central to his papacy, and during Holy Week in 2016, Pope Francis washed the feet of people waiting in an asylum center near Rome who were Muslim, Hindu, Catholic and Coptic Christians, and in April 2016, he brought 12 Syrian refugees residing at a

¹ Campese CS, "'You Are Close to the Church's Heart': Pope Francis and Migrants," 26; "Pope Francis Prays for Migrants, Refugees During Landmark Visit to Italy's Lampedusa Island," *UNHCR*, July 8, 2013, <http://www.unhcr.org/51dad8d86.html> (accessed on May 11, 2016).

refugee camp on the Greek island of Lesbos to live in Vatican City.² These actions are powerful statements of faith that not only express a direct concern for refugees and migrants, but the priorities of the Church to care for the vulnerable and be ordered by the grace of God that challenges the Church to exist for others. Preaching at Lampedusa, Pope Francis asked,

How many of us, myself included, have lost our bearings; we are no longer attentive to the world in which we live; we don't care; we don't protect what God created for everyone, and we end up unable even to care for one another! And when humanity as a whole loses its bearings, it results in tragedies like the one we have witnessed.³

Part of this research has been to help recover the "bearings" of Christians, so that as we live in the world, we do so as a people ordered by God. Through my development of a theological ethics of migration, I have not only asserted the need for extending inclusion, aid and rescue to refugees and migrants based upon scripture and tradition, but I have also asserted the need for Christians to reclaim the role of God and scripture against any possible modern simulacra for God and faith.

While local churches benefit from the peace and order provided by nation-states, churches are governed by faith in God, and as a result, exercise a concern and care that is at times distinct from the nation-states where they reside. This concern is not only for those within local churches, but also for those in the community and throughout the world. Though preaching in front of a congregation gathered in Lampedusa, Pope Francis was speaking to the millions around the world, declaring,

Today no one in our world feels responsible; we have lost a sense of responsibility for our brothers and sisters. We have fallen into the hypocrisy of the priest and the levite whom Jesus described in the parable of the Good Samaritan: we see our brother half dead on the side of the road, and perhaps we say to ourselves: 'poor soul...!', and then go on our way. It's not our responsibility, and with that we feel reassured, assuaged. The culture of comfort, which makes us think only of ourselves, makes us insensitive to the

² Elahe Izadi, "Pope Francis Washes the Feet of Muslim Migrants, Says We are 'Children of the Same God'," *The Washington Post*, March 25, 2016,

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/03/25/children-of-the-same-god-pope-francis-washes-the-feet-of-muslim-migrants/> (accessed on May 10, 2016).

"Migrant Crisis: Pope Returns from Greece with 12 Migrants," *BBC News*, April 16, 2016, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-36063300> (accessed on May 10, 2016).

³ Pope Francis, "Homily of Holy Father Francis on His Visit to Lampedusa," Libreria Editrice Vaticana, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/homilies/2013/documents/papa-francesco_20130708_omelia-lampedusa.html, (accessed on May 10, 2016).

cries of other people, makes us live in soap bubbles which, however, lovely, are insubstantial; they offer a fleeting and empty illusion which results in indifference to others; indeed, it even leads to the globalization of indifference. In this globalized world, we have fallen into globalized indifference. We have become used to the suffering of others: it doesn't affect me; it doesn't concern me; it's none of my business!⁴

Throughout this thesis I have developed a theological ethics that responds to the indifference that Pope Francis identified in his homily delivered at Lampedusa. Pope Francis identified the failure of the global community to recognize the plight of migrants as an issue that is directly relevant to them. As I argued within this thesis, migrants are not *ex nihilo* creations, and the moral concern for migrants is not limited to nations in which they originate. Instead of abiding by explanatory nationalism, which enables receiving nations to live in what Pope Francis terms "soap bubbles" of comfort, I have argued that the interconnected nature of the world reveals that migrants are not *ex nihilo* creations and that the moral responsibility to provide hospitality and care is not confined within national borders. Through an examination of scripture that utilizes allegory, this thesis has affirmed and provided evidence to support the Pope's call for action in Lampedusa.

While the European Refugee Crisis is an urgent and immediate concern, there are ongoing migration crises around the world, and I have argued that extending love to migrants, including refugees, asylum seekers, and those fleeing abject economic poverty reveals God's love to the vulnerable and the unique witness of Christians in the world. While striving to preserve critical differences between political refugees and economic migrants, and asserting that nation-states with finite resources may prioritize the needs of refugees fleeing death and persecution over the needs of economic migrants, I have argued that economic migrants also exert moral demands on nation-states for inclusion, and that Christians and the Church ought to extend love and hospitality to both. Drawing upon the UNHCR's admission that distinctions between refugees and economic migrants is becoming increasingly difficult to determine, I have asserted that refugees, asylum seekers, and economic migrants each reveal the interconnected nature of the world and that this shared experience

⁴ Pope Francis, "Homily of Holy Father Francis on His Visit to Lampedusa".

renders the plights of those fleeing economic poverty as necessitating the integration, aid and rescue that should be extended to refugees and asylum seekers.

In Chapter 1, I identified the ways that nation-states utilize migration to exert sovereignty amidst globalization and climate change and asserted that migrants are the new “state of exception.”⁵ By engaging social contract theories arising before and during the Enlightenment, I identified contradictions between economic liberalism and territorial sovereignty, and underlying issues of contemporary migration crises, such as failing to acknowledge the interconnected nature of the world or the hybridity of cultures, and the resulting need to extend aid and rescue across borders. I argued that explanatory nationalism prevents communities from understanding the impact they exert outside territorial borders and how they subsequently contribute to the push and pull factors of migration. Running throughout the social contract theories that I engaged was also the displacement of God and religion as a source of ultimate authority. Thomas Hobbes sought to displace God with the sovereign, Jean-Jacques Rousseau tried to tame God through civil religion, and Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill argued that economic exchange would cultivate relationships within humanity. I asserted that these social contract theories not only depict underlying issues of the migration crisis and provide theoretical insights into the reactions of receiving nations and communities to migrants, but illustrate the displacement of God and faith as a valid source for ethics in the modern world.

John Rawls sought to preserve Kantian rights through his philosophical devices of the original position and veil of ignorance, which are a primary source of engagement for contemporary political theorists. While these devices seek to compensate for morally arbitrary differences arising among people within borders, his refusal to extend these devices to the international realm represents the persistence of explanatory nationalism and the social contract theories already discussed. The liberal-egalitarian and cosmopolitan theorists I engaged argue for an extension of Rawlsian principles to include the world, but communitarians argue that as they do so, they lose sight of the importance not only of local communities, but also of the ways individuals are rooted in particular communities in formulating notions of justice and conceptions of the world. While, like cosmopolitans, I

⁵ Schmitt, *Political Theology; Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, 5.

advocate a global outlook, I claim that such an outlook arises from a communitarian engagement scripture. By turning to scripture, I engaged a source that informs the lives of Christians, but from such an engagement, I developed a cosmopolitan concern that transcends borders. Through my engagement with scripture, I depicted migration as evidence that the metanarrative of modernity is collapsing, and that long-term solutions to the ongoing issues of migration can only arise outside of modernist repairs.

In Chapter 2, I put forward my methodological strategy of utilizing the fourfold sense of scripture described by Henri de Lubac to address migration. Owing to the impact of the Enlightenment, I not only described my methodological strategy, but provided an apologetics for using scripture and allegory in developing a theological ethics of migration. I argued that utilizing allegory as a hermeneutical strategy helps to develop insights that can shape moral action in the world today. I described how allegory entails a thoughtful engagement with scripture that allows present day readers to gain an awareness of the complexities within scripture and the present day world, and decipher ways of living that remain faithful to the lessons of scripture. This hermeneutical strategy views scripture as an empowering and even subversive source that shapes the entirety of one's life, and breaks the division of realms articulated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau's theory of civil religion. Whereas social contract theorists sought to manipulate, weaken, or displace religion, I employed allegorical interpretations to prioritize God against the sovereign, national consciousness, and pursuits of commerce. By helping to discern the relevance of God and faith as revealed in scripture for shaping life in the world, allegorical interpretations of scripture cannot be circumscribed to the private realm of personal faith, but shape life in the public realm.

Through the exegesis of scripture, I sought to reclaim biblical commands to extend care to aliens alongside the wanderer and alien identity of the people of God, and to address lacunae in theological and ethical examinations of migration. In Chapter 3, I examined the terminology of aliens in the Hebrew Bible and New Testament Epistles, and addressed a shift from an emphasis on caring for legal and sociopolitical aliens in the Hebrew Bible originating from the situation of the Israelites being aliens in Egypt to the description of Christians as cosmological aliens

upon the earth in the Epistles. I then identified a lacuna between longstanding theological traditions of employing the terminology of wanderers and aliens and emerging theological reflections on migration. While the longstanding theological traditions of the *Epistle to Diognetus* and Augustine, which are most recently articulated by Stanley Hauerwas and William Willimon, emphasize the alien identity of Christians and the Church, this alien identity is developed without reference to the Hebrew Bible's subsequent commands to extend care to aliens. Emerging theological reflections on migration emphasize care to migrants, but fail to assert how such care renders Christians and the Church as alien. Throughout this thesis, I addressed this lacuna by using scripture and theology to address urgent humanitarian issues presented by migration, and argued that caring for aliens makes the Church alien, thereby enabling the Church to be a prophetic witness in the world.

Engaging the Exodus event and its surrounding context in Chapter 4, I argued that migration reveals the interconnected nature of the world and the falsity of "explanatory nationalism." I asserted the role of famine in compelling the Israelites to sojourn to Egypt, which is also present in the migrations of Elimelech and Naomi to Moab in the book of Ruth, the Prodigal Son's return journey to his father's home, and other migrations in the Hebrew Bible. In addition to addressing how the harsh realities of famine compel migration in the Bible and today, I cited the policies of empire in shaping migratory routes between sending and receiving nations by creating situations of economic dependence. The most general normative moral claim arising in this chapter is the command to care for aliens based on the experience of the Israelites being aliens in Egypt, and which is expressed throughout the Hebrew Bible. Examining the Exodus event and its surrounding context through the fourfold sense of scripture, with particular attention to the allegorical interpretations provided by patristic exegesis, as well as Martin Luther King Jr. and liberation theology, I identified the necessity for contemporary Christians to break free from the nation-state and economic liberalism as simulacra for God and faith. I identified the Hebrew midwives, Shiphrah and Puah, and Pharaoh's daughter, as examples of people valuing the life of the oppressed and those who the state refused to recognize. Allegorical interpretations of these exemplary models of aid and rescue contribute to a theological ethics of migration by arguing for the inclusion of the

Gentiles among the Jews, which is an example of hospitality to and inclusion of newcomers, and is a theme that is developed throughout this thesis. I also presented Pharaoh's daughter as being particularly significant for contemporary Christians because it is her membership within Pharaoh's home that enables her to provide aid, rescue, and ongoing care. While abiding by the understanding of Christians as wanderers and aliens asserted in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the *Epistle to Diognetus* and Augustine's *City of God*, I also recognize that it is their membership within a receiving community that allows them to provide care to sociopolitical and legal aliens.

In Chapter 5, I engaged more fully with the issue of the inclusion of the Gentiles among the Jews, when I turned to the book of Ruth as a prism for migration. The book of Ruth depicts the more intimate personal and familial challenges of migration, and demonstrates how extending opportunities for integration to migrants mutually shapes both migrants and receiving communities. Against the nation building projects that viewed those outside the socially contracted community as threats to national consciousness and identity, I argued that the book of Ruth demonstrates hybridity within cultures and models a mutual transformation of society through the integration of outsiders. While I had previously described how globalization, climate change, and migration is each revelatory of the interconnected nature of the world, in this chapter, I argued that migration is distinct from the products or climate that cross borders because people exert dynamic impact upon the communities where they live. In turning to the book of Ruth, I engaged scripture as a source for developing an ethics of migration that entails integration and the extension of *hesed* from both receiving communities and migrants that is relevant amid the ongoing refugee crisis today. I engaged with questions of assimilation and integration, and argued that Ruth creates a hybrid society through a dynamic exchange that recognizes that as Ruth becomes a part of Israelite society, she is becoming part of a culture that is also being transformed by her. A normative moral claim arising within this chapter is that the integration of migrants into receiving communities should entail the enactment of *hesed*, *lovingkindness*, to and by migrants. By extending *hesed*, churches promote the integration of newcomers into the communities where they are located. Further, I contend that churches should

embrace the possibility of membership and inclusion into their churches, but not require it for their extension of aid.

Continuing engagement with scripture and contemporary issues of migration, in Chapter 6 I examined the parable of the Good Samaritan to address the questions of who we are morally required to extend and rescue to, and what are the limits of such aid. The allegorical interpretations of patristic exegesis reveal a universal understanding of the neighbor based upon humanity's universal need for salvation to be provided by God through Jesus Christ, who is the Good Samaritan. Luther and Calvin affirmed this universal definition of the neighbor, and despite their objections to allegory, as cited in Chapter 2, their interpretations of the parable closely follow and affirm patristic exegesis. Augustine, Aquinas, and Barth qualified universal understandings of the neighbor by recognizing the importance of exercising a love that is universal in *potential*, but particular in *action*. After addressing these theological insights, I engaged the Sanctuary Movement as an instance of civil initiative that recalls the examples set by Shiprah and Puah, and Pharaoh's daughter. The Sanctuary Movement occurred at the critical juncture of seeking to be obedient to the commands and instruction set out in the Hebrew Bible, Gospels, and Epistles, while also living within the nation-state that makes decisions about who is a legal neighbor, alien, and stranger. Sanctuary enacted the patristic interpretations of the Church as an inn, as they provided refuge and sanctuary from Civil War in Central America. I also identified how Sanctuary challenged distinctions between the private and public realms, as the Church's participation in the biblical and ancient practice of providing sanctuary challenged the nation-state's hold on determining citizens, guests, and aliens. Owing to the interconnected nature of the world, I argued that aid and rescue must be extended within and beyond borders. A normative moral claim developed within this chapter is that contemporary Christians should provide universal and indiscriminate aid and rescue regardless of national citizenship and other morally arbitrary differences. Acknowledging the practical limitations of extending universal love, such as finite time, energy, and resources, I adhere to claims that assert that humanity should universally extend love to all who are geographically proximate. Emphasizing universal love to geographical neighbors maintains the indiscriminate nature of aid extended to both migrants and citizens.

In Chapter 7, I engaged the parable of the Prodigal Son and argued against the logic of social contract theorists by asserting that Christians and the Church are instructed not only to extend hospitality, aid, and rescue, but to do so even to the point of personal self-sacrifice. Recognizing the love of God extended to humanity inspires the extension of that love to others. I addressed the familial nature of the Prodigal Son's experience, as well as his circular journey of return, and cautioned against reading the parable as a model for "attrition through enforcement," advocating instead that it be read as a narrative of personal sacrifice that redeemed not only the younger son, but his family and community as well. I identified the father's loving embrace as representative of a notion of justice as *hesed* that is required of the Church and the elder brother as representing a sense of justice that is strikingly similar to that of social contract theories that rest on reciprocity and mutual sacrifice. Before turning to the allegorical exegesis of this parable, I warned against isolating the parable from scriptural commands to love and care for the alien, and other biblical instances in which hospitality in the form of inclusion, aid and rescue was emphasized, in order to guard against interpretations of the parable that support or promote "attrition through enforcement." By using allegory, I observed how patristic exegesis interpreted the parable as being about the inclusion of outsiders into the Church and an extension of the love of God that is universally needed among humanity. Turning to N.T. Wright, I again highlighted the theme of including others, and articulated an ecclesiology in which the Church is unafraid to welcome newcomers. The normative moral claims that I developed within this chapter include the Church's offering of care and welcome to migrants, even when this care requires cost to the welcoming community. Recalling my examination of the book of Ruth, and the transformation that occurs between migrants and the receiving community, the integration of migrants into the life of churches, will shape churches in different ways. From the introduction of new liturgies and different music styles, to additional services and language offerings, churches may experience changes as they seek to minister to the changing demographics of their communities.

Overarching the normative claims asserted throughout this thesis, is the need to reclaim God and faith for shaping moral action in the world. I utilized Karl Barth's interpretation of "the way of the Son into the far country" to draw attention

to the depiction of God as entering the world in Jesus Christ to provide the aid and rescue described in the parable of the Good Samaritan. In Chapters 1 and 2, I traced what Charles Taylor termed “the anthropocentric shift,” to describe how modernity made humanity the center of the world. Such a conception displaced God in favor of the strength of a secular sovereign, and made the sovereign and commerce simulacra for God. Referencing Barth’s depiction of Jesus Christ’s journey “into the far country,” however, I depicted God as entering the world to achieve humanity’s return to God. Such a return entails a prioritizing of faith over earthly allegiances, so that God inspires moral action in the world. The resulting moral action does not fear the loss of earthly power or the foreigner who threatens national consciousness or the strength of the sovereign, but understands a sense of justice that again recalls *hesed*. This reclaimed orientation towards God informs the normative moral claims developed throughout this thesis, for extending aid, rescue, and hospitality to migrants.

Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to balance the Christian concerns of love and grace universally extended to all of humanity alongside pragmatic concerns arising from communities and nation-states. Nation-states provide important benefits to those within their borders, which are often qualities that make them worth migrating to in the first place, but their contributions to creating migrants must be acknowledged and care for migrants must subsequently be administered as a matter of justice, and not charity. Though I argue that nation-states should extend care to migrants, my argument is centered upon the actions of Christians and the Church in the hope that the Church can demonstrate the love of God as extended to all of humanity. John Howard Yoder claimed that the activity of the Church “cannot be transposed directly into non-Christian society,” but that “by analogy certain of its aspects may be instructive as stimuli to the conscience of society.”⁶ The parable of the Good Samaritan, for instance, has exerted an impact on Western understandings of extending rescue to the vulnerable by third parties and is a culturally significant frame of reference for understanding care towards strangers in need. Legal and political theorist, Jeremy Waldron recognizes “an obligation to present legal and

⁶ John Howard Yoder, *The Christian Witness to the State* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 2002), 17.

political proposals in a way that is accessible also to citizens who do not regard the Christian Gospels as authoritative,” yet decides that “the Good Samaritan story is helpful in bringing some important issues into focus.”⁷ The aid that is demonstrated throughout scripture and implemented by churches reveals how the Church can shape political and legal discourse and practice. Although Christians extend this aid as a response to the love of God, the resulting public theology of the Church nevertheless seeks to cultivate ways of life that extend care and justice to the vulnerable. By integrating migrants into receiving communities, and extending aid and rescue to those who are far from home, the Church’s identity as wanderers and aliens is enacted in the world. As Stanley Hauerwas describes, the Church can show “the world what it means to be the world. For without a ‘contrast model’ the world has no way to know or feel the oddness of its dependence on power for survival.”⁸ Extending hospitality to migrants reveals the Church’s alien nature as they demonstrate that they are ordered not by the world, but according to the love God revealed in Jesus Christ.

In addition to the exemplary actions of Pope Francis, local churches have also been engaging in noteworthy practices of extending hospitality and aid towards migrants. There is the work of denominational aid agencies that support ongoing mission efforts, and there is also the work of Christian non-profit organizations such as Christian Aid and Church World Service. Both of these organizations were founded after the Second World War, and now play critical roles in providing aid and rescue to refugees and migrants, and helping to facilitate their integration in new places. Moreover, there are countless ad hoc efforts among local churches that are responding to the needs of refugees and migrants in their midst. Like the Good Samaritan who encountered the wounded traveler, there are churches identifying needs within the communities where they live, and providing much needed outreach. I have served churches that have not only supported denominational efforts such as Presbyterian Disaster Assistance or non-denominational Christian organizations such as Christian Aid, but also hold classes for citizenship exams in their classrooms, respond to individual needs in the community for aid, and perform home repairs and

⁷ Jeremy Waldron, "On the Road: Good Samaritans and Compelling Duties," *Santa Clara Law Review* 40, no. 4 (2000): 1057.

⁸ Hauerwas, *A Community of Character*, 50.

fund medical clinics and soup kitchens in areas with large migrant farming populations. In addition to witnessing the needs of various families being met, I saw a family from Haiti receive ongoing care that included members of the church providing English tutoring to enable employment, the purchase of mattresses and other necessary furniture, and ongoing support, which took the form of friendship and participation in church activities from time to time.

The work of local churches in response to the needs of those around them, not only provides immediate aid in the form of basic necessities such as food, clothing, and health care, but helps to facilitate inclusion, by aiding others in their search for work, speaking the language, or finding people who are willing to provide advice and comfort in their attempt to establish life in a new place. By extending this sort of care, churches show the world that they are a community that is responsive to the needs of the world and that they are willing to give from their own resources to provide aid and facilitate integration for those in need. When church members participate in this outreach, they not only provide for the tangible needs of others, but they learn not to automatically fear strangers and are given personal insights that shape perspectives and frame engagement with contested and publicized political issues. They begin to see that these are not only political issues that involve the borders of nation-states, but that these are theological issues that are critical to Christian identity and service in the world. My experiences of service or living abroad have made me value the gift of patience and kindness in a new place. I have been a stranger in foreign countries and have been shown patience by those I am living with as they give me extra time and grace to form sentences in Portuguese or Spanish, invite me into their homes, and help me to get settled in a new place. These experiences have shaped the care I offer those from other countries, and facilitating such experiences for those within the church helps shape the care that they offer.

In addition to the four biblical narratives that have been primary sources of engagement within this thesis, there are numerous other instances of migration that I have cited in the course of my research. While I argue that the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, the book of Ruth, and the parables of the Good Samaritan and Prodigal Son provide important insights into contemporary issues of migration and overarching moral claims for the treatment of migrants, allegorical exegesis of other

instances of biblical migration would be interesting trajectories for future research. Allegory can simultaneously illuminate theological truths and uncover tropological insights that have the potential to shape the Bible's relevance to moral action in the world today. While I have addressed why the Church should extend hospitality to migrants in the receiving communities where they live, churches are also leaving their sanctuaries and traveling abroad to do humanitarian work, serve in refugee camps on the borders of conflict zones, and provide aid at checkpoints. The Church is not only a community that receives, but one that crosses borders itself to go out into the world to provide for the needs of humanity. Churches, Christian organizations and Christians serving in non-profit organizations are providing urgent care that is vital to providing the type of aid and rescue that I argue for in this thesis. In addition to the practices of gleaning and Sanctuary, which provide aid to those within receiving communities already, and which I have already addressed, churches can support and participate in the work that is taking place abroad through volunteering and financial support. Supporting the work that is taking place far from the sanctuaries where we worship enables every church, regardless of whether its members come into contact with people in need of inclusion, aid and rescue on a daily basis or not, to participate in the hospitable care of those in need. Related to this mission of the Church, another trajectory for future research would be to examine the wanderer and alien identity of the Church not only in the places where Christians live and worship by extending aid, but in the places to which they go to be alongside others. The Church is universal in scope and their mission stretches across modern borders. While local churches worship in particular places, and their position within a nation-state and community enables them to facilitate integration and provide aid, it would be interesting to engage how the modern strengthening of borders and national sovereignty impacts the transnational outreach and identity of the Church. Although I engaged how Westphalian sovereignty impacted the local church in their extension of aid to those in their midst, engagement with the international outreach of churches would be an interesting trajectory for future research, that is also integral to the Church's identity in the world.

Utilizing the terminology of de Lubac's fourfold sense of scripture, an overall theme developed throughout my allegorical engagement with scripture is that the

anagogical salvation of humanity by the grace of God shapes the tropological action of those who subscribe to such hope. In agreement with Duncan Forrester's claim that "justice in the Bible is always set within an eschatological frame" and "any manifestations of justice here and now can only be provisional when measured against the coming justice of God," I argue that extending hospitality to migrants as justice reveals the distinctive *telos* of the Church.⁹ The cosmological understanding of Christians and the Church as wanderers and aliens does not discount activity in the world, but inspires it. Recalling the examples of the Hebrew midwives and Pharaoh's daughter, the Church must "break its imagination out of captivity to the nation-state" and exist as a prophetic witness and demonstration of God's provisional kingdom to the world.¹⁰ What patristic exegesis allegorically interpreted as an escape from sin, and Martin Luther King Jr. and liberation theologians interpret as the breaking free from unjust oppression and dependence, I interpret as demonstrating the necessity of following the examples of the Hebrew midwives, Shiphrah and Puah, and Pharaoh's daughter, and of being the Church in the world through the extension of loving care exercised towards migrants. By using scripture and theology in relation to the urgent humanitarian issues presented by migration, I have sought to connect the cosmologically alien nature of the Church with the extension of just and loving care for sociopolitical aliens today, which thereby enables the Church to serve as a prophetic witness in and to the world.

⁹ Forrester, "Social Justice and Welfare," 208.

¹⁰ Cavanaugh, "'Killing for the Telephone Company'," 42.

Appendix

1. Table of Allegorical Interpretations of Exodus

	Clement	Origen	Gregory	Ambrose	Jerome	Augustine	King	Cone	Gutiérrez
Moses			the Law						
Israelites			all that is dear to God						
Pharaoh			the devil		the devil	the devil			
Egypt	destitute of divine word		sin	Spiritual wickedness inside oneself	this world, a dark mist	affliction, this world	segregation laws, inequalities of U.S.	U.S. slave owners	Developed world, and colonial powers
Pharaoh's army			The devil, evil spirits		demons				
Egyptian food		bread of spiritual death				false riches, idols			
Red Sea			Baptism	Baptism	Baptism	Baptism, and the drowning of sins, the blood of Christ			socio-political and economic independence
Wilderness							1950-60s Civil Rights Movement		journey towards economic development
Manna		bread of progress towards eternal life							
Promised Land							U.S.	U.S.	Latin America

2. Table of Allegorical Interpretations of the Book of Ruth

	Track 1: Ordinary Gloss	Track 2: Ordinary Gloss, Chrysostom and Isidore
Elimelech	Jesus Christ	The Ten Commandments
Naomi	the Church	the Synagogue
Mahlon & Chilion	Apostles & prophets	kingly & priestly honor
Bethlehem	home (heaven)	
Moab	exile of this world	
Orpah	convert who falls away	
Ruth	Convert who perseveres	Gentile Church
Boaz		Jesus Christ
Elimelech's death		passing of the Law
Barley Festival		time of Jesus' passion
Boaz's fields		Knowledge of heavenly study, with gleaning learning about Christ

3. Table of Allegorical Interpretations of the Good Samaritan Parable

	Irenaeus	Clement	Origen	Augustine
Good Samaritan	Jesus Christ	Jesus Christ	Jesus Christ	Jesus Christ
Wounded Traveler	Humanity	Humanity	Adam, reason of humanity and its disobedience	humanity
Robbers	devil	devil	devil	devil
Innkeeper	The Spirit		Apostles and their successors who are bishops and teachers	
2 coins	Image and inscription of the Father and the Son, received by the Spirit		Knowledge of the Father and of the Son	
Half-dead			Humanity's nature is half mortal because the soul is immortal	
Jerusalem			Heavenly Jerusalem, paradise	
Jericho			The world	
Wounds			Disobedience and sins	
Left naked			Stripping away incorruptive immortality and virtue	
Priest			The Law	
Levite			The prophetic word	
Beast of burden			Body of Christ	Flesh of Christ
Wine			Teaching and evoking word	Baptism administered once
Oil			Word of friendship and merciful compassion	Baptism administered once
Inn			The Church	The Church, and inn on earth
Samaritan's promised return			Second coming of Christ	

Table of Allegorical Interpretations of the Prodigal Son Parable

	Irenaeus	Tertullian	Athanasius	Ambrose	Chrysostom	Augustine	Wesley	Nouwen
YS		Humanity			Humanity sinning after baptism	Humanity as wandering exiles; Gentiles; Augustine himself		Humanity, his young self
ES		Humanity*			Humanity*	Jews	Pharisees, scribes	Humanity, his mid-life self
F	God	God			God	God, and the Church		Humanity, his late-life self
IP						Mind, intellect, memory, capability, ability to worship God	Root of all sin, independence from God	
DC				Separated from sacred altar; away from citizenship in Jerusalem (heaven) with the saints		Separation from the Creator		
SI							Wasting of grace received	
Fam				Hunger for divine nourishment	Dishonor, worst evils	Not physical hunger, but lack of invisible truth		
CoC						Prince of demons, the devil	The devil, son of the devil	
FS						Slavery	Drudgery of sin	
H						Secular doctrines		
CtH						Realized his distance from God; Scripture admonishes	Realizing the need for God	Realizing the need for God
R						Repentance and perseverance		
HKF				Sign of sacred peace				
CRR		Sign of Salvation	Gifts from God to make YS afresh in the image of Christ	Made afresh in image of Christ, representing forgiveness**	Signs of forgiveness for repentance	Represent forgiveness and acceptance***		Calf is the corner-stone
S			Same as CRR	Protect feet when participating in the Lord's Supper	Same as CRR	Shoes to make beautiful the feet of those announcing the Gospel		
MD						Concord of voices means agreement		

YS: the younger son; ES: the elder son; F: the father; IP: inheritance, property; DC: distant country; SI: squandered his inheritance; Fam: famine; CoC: citizen of that country; FS: feeding swine; H: husks the pigs ate; CtH: coming to himself; R: younger son's return to his father's home; HKF: hug and kiss from the father to the younger son; CRR: fatted calf, ring, robe; S: sandals; MD: music and dancing

*Tertullian does not explicitly state that the elder son represents humanity, but he does not refute it either, and it is a plausible interpretation.

**Ambrose makes distinctions between the fatted calf, robe, and ring. The fatted calf represents "Christ our Passover," the robe represents a marriage garment granted to attend a marriage feast, and the ring represents a pledge of faith and sale of the Holy Spirit.

***Augustine denotes independent definitions. The fatted calf is a sign of admittance to the table at which Christ who was slain is fed upon, the robe represented the first robe that Adam lost by sinning and represents a robe of immortality in baptism, and the ring represents a pledge of the Holy Spirit.

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